

THE MONIST

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Philosophy of Science

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER.
MARY CARUS.

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CHICAGO

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The Open Court

... An Illustrated Monthly Magazine ...

DR. PAUL CARUS
EDITOR

ASSOCIATES { E. C. HEGELER
MARY CARUS

Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea.

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THE MONIST

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THE MONIST

AVESTA ESCHATOLOGY COMPARED WITH THE BOOKS OF DANIEL AND REVELATION.*

THE CONCEPTION OF GOD AND THE TERMINOLOGY USED.

AMONG the names applied to the Supreme Being the expression "God of Heaven," also used in the alleged Edicts of Cyrus¹ and his Biblical successors (see 2 Chronicles, Ezra, etc.) appears to be certainly Exilic, even where it may now occur amidst matter formerly believed to be pre-Exilic. It recalls vividly the universal Aryan name Deva,² Zeus, Deus, Dieu, etc., for Deity, which in the Aryan vernacular was *Divá*, "the shining sky,"³ so D(a)eva, to Indian *div*. In Avesta and its sequents the fine term became unhappily inverted in its application owing to theological antipathies and jealousies, and was actually applied to demons through all Zoroastrian literature. But the Iranians themselves, as there can be little doubt, used "D(a)eva," originally in the holy sense, with all the rest of Arya, and the sad misuse is one proof more of the posteriority even of the early Avesta to the earliest Veda. Then the expression "living God" recalls the etymology of Ahura (Inscriptional Aura) the root being *Ahu* = "life"

* For the most part delivered in university lectures.

¹ See Ezra i.

² So first suggested by me in *T. R. A. S.*

³ See Daniel.

among other things; *-ra* is mere suffix. This singularly effective word is indeed applied to Ameshaspends, and even to a human spiritual Lord, and this in the oldest Avesta; but we are none the less entitled to think of "life" and the "living" One when we meet its well-nigh universal application to the Supreme Deity, recalling also Vedic *ásura* and its equivalents (see above). Not long since a scholar would indeed have cited Yahveh as a Jewish analogon; and there is little doubt that the Jews themselves once mistook the word for the first person singular of the Hebrew verb meaning "to be." And this supervening and secondary understanding of the term, entirely aside from our restored modern explanations of it, quite fully suffices to establish an interior, if independent, analogy between it and Ahura. Analogies are often quite valid for the purpose of tracing the presence and connection of ideas here apart even from errors or misgrowths; for "connection" quite as often reveals itself in grotesque anomalies. See even the striking inscriptional expression "King of Kings" applied to God in Hebrew as well as to the Messiah and to Nebuchadnezzar (Daniel ii. 37); see it dwelt upon below, whereas in its signal occurrence upon Behistān it is used of Darius; yet this last insertion, though dating so late as B. C. 500, *circa*, clearly proves that the expression was predominantly Persian in its original application, for it is not possible that it could not have been used in Iran in the course of Iranian history centuries before it was applied in this same sense in the Inscription. And it therefore affords a strong additional proof of a connection of religious ideas. So we hear of the "Ancient of Days," which recalls *Zrvani akarane*, meaning "in boundless time": see the Vendidad XIX, an expression of much importance as savoring of philosophic speculation, but at another day (as possibly in the Bible⁴) it becomes a proper name for an

⁴ See Daniel.

Eternal Creator; we have even a sect of Zervanites. Yet this connection, though subjected to a twist, is valid in exactly the same manner, and deeply interesting. Moreover it must be clearly held in mind that a vast mass of analogies must be so estimated while yet cited: see on ahead, where no pretence whatsoever is to be put forward by me to any certain immediate literary connection. My objective, as already stated, is the existence of a post-Exilic intellectual atmosphere in Persian Babylonia, and so also in Persian Jerusalem, an atmosphere which was vital to the new religious aspirations of the Jews—in fact totally transforming them; and that this atmosphere was more Iranian than Babylonian; but much detail of an otherwise very inferior character goes to make firm our convictions as to this. It is often a question as to what may have circulated as mere hearsay.

Resuming,—we have again a firm clincher to the idea of eternity in the Deity as being an Iranian concept; and this is afforded by the name of the last Ameshaspend, Ameretatât; recall “who only hath immortality” (Timothy vii. 16).

ANGELOLOGY WITH DEMONOLOGY.

a. Distinction in Personages.

Angelic personages become discriminated as to their rank as greater or less, in the Exilic and post-Exilic Scriptures, and this marks still further the interesting change in the religious history of Israel. In the genuine pre-Exilic period the angelology was extremely indefinite, having been even thought by some to be a mere theophany, at best a simple messenger-sending from the Deity with-

* A curious expression for the Bible to make use of. It looks indeed as if “immortality” were a special title; otherwise what is the sense of it at all? Surely it is not a New Testament doctrine that no one but God has “immortality.”

out the supposition of any very distinct personal characteristics in the supernatural messenger himself. We find also naturally little trace of any very exceptional hyper-exaltations of individual angelic or demoniac spiritual beings aside from, and independent of, their use as conveyors of the Divine wishes upon particular occasions. But in the Exile not only are some of these concepts apparently selected to "surround the Throne," but individual beings appear in a most predominant attitude as "Prince" and "Prince of Princes." (See Daniel viii. 25): An especially prominent angel seems even intended to be represented as the agent in raising the dead, like the Saoshyants¹ of Iran: See Daniel xii. 1, 2: "At that time shall Michael stand up, the great Prince which standeth for thy people." See also the expression "Sons of God" after the Iranian idea in Yasht XIII and elsewhere where the Iranian Archangels "have all one Father Ahura."

Whether the other two in Daniel xii. 5, 6, are to be reckoned as "Princes" is not certain, but the occurrences already mentioned suffice to show an exceptional eminence conceded to an exceedingly small number of these believed-in supernatural persons. Similarly see also Daniel x. 21, where Michael, "Your Prince," almost demands a like interpretation to the expressions "Prince of Persia," (see Daniel x. 13, 20), and even to the expressions "Prince of Grecia." If it is written:

"The Prince of the Kingdom of Persia withstood him, Daniel, one and twenty days,—and, lo,—Michael, one of your Princes, came to help me," then as Michael, the Prince was an Archangel, it would seem only fair for us to suppose that the term "Prince of Persia" may possibly have some inclusive allusion to a supernatural being notwithstanding the positive presence of Persian political person-

¹ He was himself not an angel, but the first recorded concept of a final Redeemer restoring all things; see elsewhere and below.

ages in the connection; and so the expression "Prince of Grecia" must be somewhat accounted for in the same manner. Of course the word "Prince" here used has also its further and more natural application; and in fact it is quite possible that the entire use of the term "Prince" here as applied to the Archangels may have been first suggested by the necessary mention of the political Princes whose action forms here the subject under discussion. Again, on the contrary, the idea may have been led off by the very prominent position of the national Archangels of Media reckoned as "Princes," a leading one among them having actually the name of Khshathra which may be rendered "Sovereign" or "Prince"; so that, to be exhaustive, it is desirable to mention that even the "Prince of Grecia" in Daniel x. 13, 20, might point toward a semi-extinct angelology further west; but I fear we should be hardly warranted here.

b. The Seven Spirits of God.¹

It is in Zechariah, Tobit, and Revelations that a few of these more prominent concepts are spoken of as a company of seven; see where I have already necessarily indicated this by anticipation above, and what I shall say here should be regarded as being of the nature of necessary amplification. In the latter book this expression becomes frequent. Nothing could more accord with the Medo-Persian Zoroastrian usage, which may also have expressed itself with a prominence which spread and maintained the concepts everywhere within the vast Perso-Babylonian territory.

No one will suppose that I attach any especial importance to the number seven in itself considered, for it is of well-nigh universal application in Holy Scripture, possibly having had its real origin in the seven days of a week in

¹ This is one of the collections of evidence to which I promised to revert, entering into more extended detail.

a month of about twenty-eight days; but the application of this number to certain conspicuous believed-in angelic beings is quite another matter when we recall the Medo-Persian Ameshaspendes which were so widely known. Here accidental coincidence would seem to be rigorously excluded by the facts which I have already instanced above, for the existence of the expression in close proximity to the name of a Gāthīc Demon; see above, where an Avesta city more than once in the same document, places connection all the more fully beyond dispute. In Zechariah iv. 10, "the Seven Spirits which are as the eyes of the Lord and which run to and fro throughout the whole earth," not only recall the Seven Ameshaspendes, but their activity, which is everywhere expressed, or implied in the Avesta as in the later Zoroastrianism; see also Satan's answer to God in the Introduction to Job, where he says: "I am come from running to and fro in all the earth"; see it cited also elsewhere; and we have even the coincidence as to the "eyes of the Lord," the sun being the "eye of Ahura" in Avesta, as he is the eye of Varuna in the Veda; for though the sun was not an Ameshaspend, but merely exalted in a quasi-personification, yet our main object here, as said above, is literary coincidence or color which may be absolutely without interior correspondence and yet completely effective to show "connection."* In Rev. viii. 2, we have at once again "the seven spirits which are before the throne." Here the application of the same terms to the seven representatives of the Seven Churches (Rev. i. 20) should hardly be regarded as a serious objection, for these later expressions were evidently taken over from the earlier words, which, as we see, occur in Zechariah and Tobit. It would be moreover *a priori* highly improbable that the "seven spirits of God before His throne" should have been an idea finding its origin in the fact that there were seven

* Compare "the angel who took his part."

Christian Bishops in Asia Minor who attracted the attention of the inspired author; see also below.

Notice moreover the very solemn expression "the seven spirits of God" in Rev. iii. 2 and 7, which not remotely recalls the still profounder revelations in the Avesta where an analogous passage attributes the "six" spirits to Ahura as a seventh. This occurrence moreover surpasses its Jewish imitations in one all-important particular; for these spirits were in so far really *God's* (that is to say, Ahura's) that they were literally the fundamental concepts not only of all religion, but of all possible moral existence, and so metaphorically indeed the very "Sons of God"; see below for amplification to this point, being also in a sense absolutely identical with Him, as the human attributes are identical with the human personal subjectivity. As regards Rev. iv. 5 (cp. also Zech. iv. 2, 10) I am not aware that the Zoroastrians had exactly seven lamps, or seven candlesticks, but the concept of the seven spirits pervaded the ideas of the writers, while fire (see above) was supreme as a sacrificial object; see also Rev. v. 7. In 8, the seven angels are again seen to stand before the throne recalling Job, where, however, the number is not mentioned (see Rev. viii. 6; xv. 1; xv. 6; xvi. 17; xvii. 11; xx. 19). The same deduction is everywhere in point, namely that while the concepts with their number "seven" are so very Jewish and Christian, they only appeared suddenly upon this Hebrew foreign soil as applied to particular personal spirits, whereas *they were immemorially native to Medo-Persian Zoroastrianism* which for centuries occupied the same territory which was both before and later by constraint invaded by the captives.² A further explanation of this crucial number seven should here intervene, and it will afford an all-important illustration as to the asserted facts upon

² The places where the Israelitish captives were deposited and settled were "Assyria and the Cities of the Medes."

which our entire procedure depends. For, like almost every other particular of the kind, it is not expected to go upon "all fours." Even the number itself wobbles, the seven being a post-Gāthic term, as is indeed the word *amesha*, (better *amersha*), meaning "immortal," as applied to the Seven; and it, the number seven, first of all includes Ahura. The Ameshaspentas without Him are merely six, whereas in one of the most important of all the passages, the Seven are all said to have "One Father," Ahura. But such irrationalities are universal in ancient religious literatures. The number seven struck its impression deep upon the Iranian mind, having its obvious origin in the number of the Ameshas (Immortals) with Ahura included, and once having gained a footing it twisted their terminology. The word seems later to have meant the Holy Group entirely aside from the actual accuracy of the figure.

That the names or the personified ideas themselves were purposely selected by the original authors to fit in with the already established sanctity of the number is less probable than *vice versa*, from the facts already just noticed; there is no idea of "seven" at all in the original documents, the Gāthas. We might indeed surmise that an originally prevailing sanctity of such a number among the Irano-Aryan tribes, having returned more vividly to the consciousness of the later Zoroastrians, and also possibly having found its way in from without, they may then in the later but still genuine Avesta have adopted the term, fitting it into the fact that the "Six" with their Original, were indeed "Seven"; recall the Seven Karshvas,—but the probabilities lie totally on the other side of it. The sanctity of the Six with Ahura, the Seventh, or as the First of a Seven, was of the most exalted and effective character possible, affording among the Iranians at least and their descendants whether actual or merely intellectual, an all-sufficient reason for the excessive vene-

ration for the number, as usual on rational grounds; for what reasons for the sanctification of any such figure could at all approach the fact that it expressed the number of the accepted, or recognized attributes of the Supreme Deity? And even if the glimmer of the idea of Seven did indeed revive from an earlier Iranian-Indian origin, or even, if it did later creep in from abroad; yet even then it was obviously, notoriously, and almost exclusively appropriated by the unconscious facts of the Iranian theological situation. No one who reads the Gāthas with any receptive capacity at all could imagine that those Six were especially worked out to coincide with the superficial and indeed artificial sanctity of any number elsewhere superstitiously adored. If that had been the case Seven would undoubtedly have been mentioned in them, the Gāthas. If the number "seven" had any very especial sanctity in the pre-Gāthic period that sanctity may have been purposely nursed from religious motives, and it may have exerted a quiet influence even in the Gāthic period, but in no degree such a powerful and dominant influence as it exerted in all subsequent Iranian history.

Nothing is more pressingly important to all our constructive conjectures than to recall this principle at every step. Hardly an item, except these first cited, presents a mechanically exact correspondence. Another excellent example should be noted merely for the sake of emphasizing our illustration. Aramaiti is rhetorically termed "God's daughter" in several places, and "His wife" in another. So Mithra is almost His fellow-God at times, and yet His creature at others. In more than one place Ahura actually sacrifices to Mithra and others of His sub-deities, just as a courteous sovereign would never formally address a nobleman without using his title. Ancient Gods also universally borrow each other's attributes, and in pursuing scientific discriminations as to these points the expert must

note which god is *predominant* in the possession of certain characteristics. Periods of transition also occur during which each leading god usurps or inherits the accredited deeds or powers of the others; and there are often distinctly marked epochs, where One God, as represented by his followers, seems almost to wrangle for an attribute with a waning predecessor.³

Periods of the prevailing ascendancy of one God also overlap upon those of another.

c. The Naming of the Archangels.

While such a culmination was most possible as an entirely independent Jewish growth in parallel lines with that in the Zoroastrian scriptures, yet in presence of the immemorial Avestic and Vedic use, one at once recognizes the influence of the new Persian scene. The Jews, being Persian subjects, were perforce upon the most intimate political terms with many of the Persian officials, and they could not meet and converse religiously with any Persian-Babylonian acquaintance from Media, without hearing at every sentence the name of an Archangel, for these fine believed-in supernatural personages later gave the very names to the months and days,⁴ and this usage may well have begun at a date which would here come in; and they were often used in the course of the day in private devotion. Their names also occurred often in private proper names, the Greeks themselves becoming aware of them (see below). What wonder then that they began, though at first quite unconsciously, not only to construct intellectually their own personified religious con-

³ See Indra as he supplants his predecessors in R. V.

⁴ Not only were many of the months named after them and their underlings; but the days of the month as well. Everything rang with the terms, so to speak, not excepting sometimes the proper names of the most eminent persons; for instance in such a word as Artaxerxes we have the names of two of the immortals, — Arta, which equalled Asha, and Khshathra; the prayer hours of the day, later five in number involved the constant recalling of the names.

cepts, and upon the same model as those of the Iranians (see above), but to *name* them as well, after the same fashion which was ever upon the lips of their political and social allies.

"The man Gabriel being caused to fly swiftly," etc. (Daniel) may be taken as a leading illustration. The few Zoroastrian "Immortals," unlike even their first imitations in Zech. iv, dispense with the supernatural limbs of locomotion, and especially with contra-anatomical growths for ærial excursion, but Gabriel, "Man of God," at once recalls the fact that Vohumanah represents precisely "the man of God" even in the Gāthas, not etymologically of course; and in the Vendidad he represents him in a manner so emphatic that there Vohu Manah, as representing the well-conducted citizen, may even be "defiled" through some impure physical contamination (see below); and we should not fail to add that the Zoroastrian angels have also a "flight" in descending to the believer, but as ever in the more refined form of rhetorical imagery rather than in that of muscular delineation.⁵ So when the leading priests in Persian Babylon began to think out for themselves Archangelic personages they would naturally give some such names as we have recorded; and so Michael "who like God?" appeared. We have noticed Gabriel as recalling Vohuman; but he also recalls the exploits of many an Iranian Angel, Sraosha in particular, though he, Sraosha, was certainly not at first recognized as an Amesha, yet he succeeded in pushing some of these leading forms aside in his progress as a defender. So in Revelations there was "war" in heaven and Michael the Prince contended with the Devil in Jude, just as Sraosha pre-eminently vanquished Angra-Mainyus. But we must not go further before we recall and further explain the incisive circumstance that the Zoroastrian names differ radically and transcend

⁵ Yt. xiii. 84, 84.

immensely the Biblical ones in an all-important particular, already touched upon above, for whereas the Jewish expressions depict with color fine poetical images, the Zoroastrian terms express the first internal elements of the mental universe; see above and in the following remarks. *Vohu manah*, while used for the "orthodox saint," means distinctly *bona mens*; they may be the same words indeed in another form; *manah* is of course *mens*. Asha is "the law," the "idea of consecutive order," the "truth pre-eminent" in every germ; Khshathra, the sovereign power, comes in also as if with conscious logic; compare both the Gâthic and the Lord's prayer;⁶ in the first we have "Thine is the kingdom," as in the last, with no very probable immediate literary connection; it is the idea of sacred authoritative force; Aramaiti is the psychic energy of purpose, "the toiling Mind," while Haurvatât is the completeness of Deity, conferring full weal and chiefly health upon His "good" creatures, and Ameretatât is literally "immortality," the two forms of exactly the same word. As approaching this we have such expressions as "The Amen"; see the Asha = Truth. Descending to the minor concepts; see above my allusions to "Hvarenah," etc. In addition to this we may recall the fact that Raphael, one of the Jewish Archangels, is actually declared to be "One of the Seven Spirits" in the Tale of Tobit which almost centers about the chief Zoroastrian city Ragha.

*d. Iranian Names Suggested Where Neither They
Nor Any Semitic Equivalents Actually Appear.*

While Michael and Gabriel are in evidence on the Semitic side and "God of Heaven" has been cited as possibly an Aryan element amidst the throng of Semitic terms, we may

⁶ See Yasna LIII, 7: "For 'thine is the kingdom' through which Thou wilt give.....to the right-living poor."

⁷ I refer *ar* to *ar* = "to plough" cp. *aratrum*.

proceed to notice such an expression as that in Daniel ii. 11, "whose dwellings are not in the flesh." This would be an advance upon earlier concepts where the bodily figure of Yahveh Elohim is plainly referred to; and these finer ideas arose under the stimulus of the Exile, anthropomorphic modes of thought having been much shaken off, not necessarily at all in imitation of Persian modes of expression. For even in the Gāthas, a vision of Ahura is sought for, though a vision of Ahura as manifested in a bodily form would indeed introduce an element into the Gāthas directly in conflict with one of its leading distinctions, that between the "bodily" and the "mental" worlds. In the later Yasna, however, we have His "Body," though everything points to a merely rhetorical (xx. 2) usage here as in the post-Avestic Zoroastrianism, though I do not feel that the post-Gāthic Zoroastrians would have objected much to God's body, if they could only have managed the idea of it; and it would have been easy enough to add the adjective "spiritual" before such a noun as "body." A "God of Gods" (Daniel ii. 47) recalls again the inscriptional turn of words "King of Kings" and also its actual sentence "greatest of all the Gods," the Creator both of the Immortals and of Mithra; see below. Strangely enough Adar, the angel of fire, is most significantly indicated in Daniel iii. 25: "The fourth figure walking in the super-heated furnace is like unto a son of the gods." But "Son of God," i. e., of Ahura, was precisely a most noted and ever iterated title of the fire, as somewhat dimly personified in the later but still genuine Avesta. The spirit of the Holy Gods, in Daniel iv. 9, recalls again the Spenishta Mainyu, the most Holy Spirit, so the most; I prefer, the "most August Spirit." In the Avesta this "most August Spirit" is a curious growth out of the concept Ahura, much like that of the Holy Spirit in the Exilic Scriptures. It seems to be a sort of attribute at first; and then perhaps it edged its way into

personification, as so often with similar ideas. The "watcher and the Holy One" of Daniel iv. 13 suggest Sraosha who "never slept since the two Spirits made the worlds; three times of the night and day" he attacks the enemy and defends the souls of the faithful. The "coming down from Heaven" (same verse) suggests the Six in Yasht XIII, where we have, "shining are their paths as they come down to the faithful." In Daniel iv. 17, the demands "by the words of the Holy Ones" again suggest the Seven; they all, constructively, watch and speak; and see "the Spirit of the Holy Gods" again with "Spenishta Mainyu" as its counterpart.

The reader has long since, let us hope, fully seen the pointing of our procedure. While hardly a single instance here cited shows any absolutely certain immediate and definite external literary connection with Avesta, yet *the duty continually grows upon us to gather up not only the more prominent evidences of interior connection arising from parallel development, but the entire mass of them; for they undoubtedly accumulate force if only slowly,* and they build up a structure of comparative theological doctrine which demands a universal recognition; and as it gains a hearing, it gradually but surely substantiates the Zoroastrian-Israelitish historical connection as well. To resume—see "the watchers" like Sraosha again at Daniel iv. 23. The talk of "the kingdoms" is again original, and yet it again suggests Avesta Khshathra; see by anticipation the "care of the poor"⁸ (iv. 27) cited from the Gāthas above and below. This idea occurs more than once in the Gāthas and also in the Ahuna Vairya. The "most high ruling" suggests "Ahura as king." See the "Spirit of the Holy Gods" still once more again in Daniel iv. 34. In v. 20 "the Glory taken away" from the monarch, sug-

⁸ The "care of the poor" was a marked Gāthic idea; and in spite of a despotic government, if not in consequence of it, the "poor" seem always to have had some special privileges in Persia as against the aristocracy.

gests the Hvarenah of the Kavis as elsewhere. This latter, however, eluded seizure; see the Yashts. The word *Satraps*⁹ of vi. 7 is pure Persian of course; cp. *khshathrapavan*, though the Archangel Khshathra was not here at all directly thought of.

The "Living God" (vi. 26) again suggests the same thoughts which originally determined the word Ahura; see above. See also "The Ancient of Days" again, which, aside from that most significant expression "in Boundless Time"¹⁰ recalls Ahura as he who is "the same at every now"; recall "the same, yesterday, to-day and for ever."¹¹ All the expressions in vii. 14 recall the Spirit of the new Persian - Babylonian religious thought, "indestructible kingdom" being also familiar to both. Most curiously both the ram and the he-goat of 8, appear in the Yasht to Victory, a brilliant Avesta piece, and likewise in the same order, with the ram first. Notice Gabriel's, "the man's voice," of viii. 16, the Prince of Princes of viii. 25 which ought always to suggest Vohu Manah, while Asha, who secured the first place among the Archangels, was later, as already stated, rudely pushed off the stage of action by Sraosha who is also elsewhere metaphorically aggressive. "Righteousness belongeth unto Thee," originally arose from the same impulsive convictions which attributed Asha, the Holy Legal Truth, to Ahura. So Vohu-manah was really "mercy"; see ix. 9. In ix. 10, "not obeying" arose from the same psychic forces which evoked the condemnation of *ascroasha*, non-obedience in Y, LX, 9, 11. There was also a "curse" almost personified in Avesta. "The Lord watching over evil" (ix. 14) recalls Isaiah xiv. 7, in contradiction to the implication that God did not create sin, while, on the contrary, Ahura was thus limited.

⁹ Darius's father was one of his son's Satraps.

¹⁰ Recall the Greek Chronos.

¹¹ See above where "Boundless Time" itself became a deity and a creator.

See again "all the Righteousness of God," (ix. 16), recalling the Asha of Ahura.

"Hearken, hear, and incline Thine ear," (ix. 18), are emphatic and iterated Gāthic ideas and words, and the first conception of Sraosha is "God's ear." So are "hear and forgive";* so also "bringing in everlasting righteousness" (Daniel ix. 24) is very Avestic as the first essential idea of *Frashakart*¹² without which the supernatural beatifications comprised within that engaging hope would be of no effect; cp. "no envy Demon-made." Daniel x: the Yashts are full of "war"¹³ as are indeed the Gāthas, these last have however no pictorial personifications to correspond. I cannot say what Aryan angel is suggested by "the man clothed in linen," though as already said, Vohumanah, representing "man," recalls Gabriel. In x. 11, "He comes" like Vohuman, so repeatedly in Y. XLIII; see x. 18, the same motives inducing both descriptive manifestations. In xi. 2 the "truth" is again Asha.

In xi. 16 "doing according to His will" emphatically recalls the very characteristic and repeated expression of Avesta, "using power according to His will"; see also the *vasiy*¹⁴ of the Inscription; see also Khshathra again as the "Divine Rule" (xi. 17). I do not know what to suggest with regard to the other two angels of Daniel xii. 5.

e. Unnamed Semitic Angels With Aryan Analogies.

The Angel in Rev. i who leads and conducts the narrator was suggested by the same idea as determined Sraosha to a similar office in the Book of the Artā-i-Virāf of the later Zoroastrianism; see also Y. XXVIII, 5, of the Gāthas; so "in the spirit" (Rev. i. 10) is very Zoroastrian, though not exactly in the pointed sense. Artā-i-Virāf,

* Y. XXXII, 11.

¹² Millennial Perfection.

¹³ Cp. Yt. XIX, 1, where Ahura himself takes part.

¹⁴ Meaning "at will," "with complete sway."

however, was "in the spirit" much after the fashion of St. John, though in his case (*Artā-i-Virāf's*) this took place with the assistance of a drug. There is also a prominent book called the "Spirit of Wisdom."

"Writing in a book" reminds us that Zoroastrianism with Judaism was one of the very few prominent book-religions. The Son of Man again, as in Daniel, recalls Vohuman who represented "man."¹⁵ In Rev. i. 16, the "sword from the mouth" suggests the weapon of Sraosha which was emphatically "the Word of God," the Honover of Avesta.¹⁶ In Rev. i. 17, "the first and the last" sounds like a keynote of the Avesta, though there the Devil shared this primordial eternal existence. There were "two first spirits": see also the word *ap(a)ourvyam*, "having no first"; that is to say, "having none before it," which qualifies the superexcellence of the chants; see below on the "new song." Yet some expositors might well apply the term grammatically to Mazda Ahura. In Rev. i. 18 the "Living One" again recalls Ahu-ra; see above, here, however, apparently referring to the risen Jesus, whereas in Daniel the Deity is held in view.

The description of the seven stars as the "seven angels of the seven churches" (Rev. i. 20) by no means annihilates, but rather on the contrary assists our contention as to the analogies. The idea and the words as already stated, were taken over from the seven angels before "the throne." The reversed direction would be quaint indeed.¹⁷ The human Angels were addressed in the terms of common parlance. "I know thy works" (ii. 2) expresses the essence of Zoroastrian judgment; see the first strophe of the Gāthas. The "tree of life" (ii. 7)* reminds one of Ameretatāt, which

¹⁵ See above.

¹⁶ See Yasna XIX.

¹⁷ As if the idea of "the seven spirits of God" was derived from the idea of the seven Bishops.

represented both never dying life, and later the vegetable kingdom which supported it, whereas in Genesis it recalls the vine with its supposed supernatural excitations, for which compare the Hōm Yasht which celebrates the same sacred influence, "he that hath an ear to hear" (ii. 11) is again so significant in the Avesta that it has an especial angel, Sraosha, to represent it; see also the Yasna, where "Hear ye these things with the ears," twice introduces the most solemn and far-reaching of all the doctrines. He who was dead and is alive again" (Rev. ii. 8), recalls the realization of the ideas which lurk in Amere-tatāt and are expressed fully elsewhere; see below. The intervention of the Satanic opposition (ii. 9) is everywhere marked in Zoroastrianism, where it was first recognized; but the details of the Semitic allusions are here the most pointed.

Periods of trial (ii. 10) are familiar throughout Zoroastrianism, and the keynote of all is final victory, certainly at least for the elect. "The crown of life" (ii. 10) is far more poetical than the mere immortality of the Avesta, though victory abounds in the latter. Satan's throne (ii. 13) is not positively an Avestic expression; but the counterparts to Vendidad XIX, 32 (105), and Yasht XXII, have been lost; there "evil" thrones are due to offset the holier ones. We are also reminded of the top of Arezura, V. XIX. 45 (w) where the choice of spirits of the infernal world converge, doubtless under the presidency of their chief. In Rev. ii. 13, "Satan's dwelling" recalls strikingly the abode of the Druj, Y. XLVI, XLIX, the Devil's eldest daughter, almost himself. Idol-worship (ii. 14) is one of the chief things condemned at the judgment of the Zoroastrians. In ii. 17, the "Spirit" recalls again the "most Holy," or "August Spirit" of the Gāthas exactly in analogy with the Holy Spirit of the Old and New Testaments, with no immediate literary connection. The hidden manna,

(Rev. ii. 17) also somewhat dimly recalls the immortal food of the Zoroastrian "Heaven," the Holy Oil of the beatified. "The Son of God," who has "eyes like a flame of fire" and feet like "burnished" and so "fiery brass" again recalls our Adar also represented in Avesta under the rhetorical image of personification. And we notice once again that the fire was "God's son," the expression often occurring. Rev. ii. 19, again recalls the first verse of the Gâtha, "all works done with Asha." Both Zoroastrianism and Rev. ii. 20 are severe upon the harlot. In ii. 23, one "which searcheth the heart" recalls "on all with the truth (i. e., searchingly) Thou art gazing." The "Son of God" as "benevolent" sympathy (Rev. ii. 19) recalls the noted expression in the Gâthas, "with Asha in sympathy," as also that which reports "the love of Ahura Mazda." "The depths of Satan" (ii. 24) recall the "things hidden" of Yasna XXXI. "Behold I come quickly" (Rev. ii. 16) recalls the Gâthic expression "swift be it" (the issue) as addressed to Ahura. Here we have as so often no immediate literary connection, but the two ideas were determined by the same psychological moment.

Vohumanah distinctly recalls the "beginning of the creation of God" (iii. 14) as he was supposed to be the "first¹⁸ made of every creature," not, however, an Avestic expression. See the "Amen" again for Asha in a most solemn and heart-touching sense from interior parallel development.

"He that overcometh" (Rev. iii. 21) is again very Zoroastrian of "Victory." In iii. 21, the sitting upon the throne again recalls the scene in the Vendidad. The four and twenty elders on thrones (iv. 4) or round about the throne are exactly the Immortals in Vendidad though the number there in V. is but a fourth of them; see below.

¹⁸ Vohumanah worked his way to the fore on account of his meaning which was "Benevolence."

Vohu Manah seems to sit down, if not *with* Ahura on His throne, V. XIX, 132 (105), yet upon a throne in His near vicinity; recall where the Son of Man sits upon the throne of His Glory (Vohu Manah also representing the religious man in Avesta, as to which see below); the Deity also presumably presided. So the seven lamps of fire, (4, 5) have been already mentioned as a manifestation of the angel Atar (Adar). In iv. 6 the living creature full of eyes seems distinctly motived by Mithra with his 1000 eyes (see also Ezekiel). The especial homage to God as "the Creator" (iv. 11) is perhaps more constantly present in Zoroastrianism than in any other lore (see also the Inscriptions). "Glory" in iv. 11 again recalls Hvarenah and its angel; see Power equalling Khshathra again. "Because of thy will" (iv. 11) is again very Avestic and inscriptional both as applied to Ahura and His saints. "Power" is again Khshathra (v. 12). "Riches" is Ashi Vanguhi; "wisdom" may be Aramaiti; "glory" again is Hvarenah. The "white horse" of vi. 2 is a striking symbol in the Yasht to victory; see also "conquering and to conquer." The "bow" was pre-eminently the Persian weapon, baffling the Romans in many an encounter,¹⁹ the "horse that was red" (vi. 4) recalls again the Avesta with the varying color; and so the "black horse" (vi. 5), all presumably in the sky, or on some conspicuous elevation. The angel of the Abyss (ix. 11) is Angra Mainyu, or his agent, ("face downward are the D(a)evas"). Recall Ezek. viii. 16 and the "twenty-five men with their backs to the temple as they worshiped the sun," pure Zoroastrianism, or the like. The "beast coming up out of the abyss," (Rev. xi. 7) recalls again the demon Angra Mainyu, who among his myrmidons certainly fled to Hell, which was situated in a downward direction; see in Vendidad; see also Artā-i-

¹⁹ The supply of arrows was furnished in camel loads and almost inexhaustible.

Virāf. "After three days and a half" (xi. 9) vividly recalls the idea of the period during which the soul lingers around the body in Yasht, XXII; see also the approximately similar borrowed Muhammedan belief. (It would seem to be profane to mention the "three days" of the Gospels.)

Passing over much interesting and apposite detail we have in Rev. xii. 7 the "war in Heaven," elsewhere also often mentioned, which precisely in this connection recalls the war of Apaosha in the Yasht, whose enemy was then as now well thought to be drought, the great enemy of man in torrid climates; this point in Avesta is again rational.

"The Deceiver of the world" (xii. 9) is beyond all doubt a Zoroastrian idea of the Devil, whose central product was the Lie-Druj (female demon). "The kingdom of our God" (xii. 10) recalls again of course "Thine is the kingdom" in the Gātha; the expression of Royal authority *par eminence*, is Khshathra. This "Reign of God" is again pre-eminently Khshathra who was Ahura's attribute: "the temple of God which is in heaven" (xi. 19) recalls the same idea of celestial supernatural architecture in Avesta. The dragon of seven heads is, of course, the Azhi Dahāka of Avesta, the Ahi of the Veda, which both had six heads, the six being changed to seven in Revelation on account of the dominant influence of that number with possible reference to the Seven Hills of Rome.

Like the Vedic Ahi, he kept off the rain.²⁰ "The Devil having great wrath" (xii. 12) vividly reminds us of Aeshma, the demon of the *Raid Fury*, again quite a rational concept. There was also "an eagle" in the Avesta in the Yasht (xii. 14). The "worship of the dragon" (xiii. 4) was literally again suggested by that of the great rational

²⁰ Notice in passing what I must refer to later on, which is the constant rationalism of the Avesta-Vedic concepts as against the Babylonian-Israelitish. One of the most marvelous of literary circumstances is that all the gods, or most of them, have meaning in Avesta, as in Veda and for the most part abstract meaning.

Azhi Dahāka (see also the Veda) who showed his claim to be the greatest of the devils, coiling his folds about the rain clouds, the dripping cows of heaven. The "angel with the eternal Gospel" (xiv. 7) is the Sraosha with the Manthra; so only in strongest analogy, of course.

In xiv. 18, the angel who had power over fire is again distinctly an Atar whether directly and immediately so suggested, or by parallel development. In xv. 3, the "King of the Ages" again recalls *Zrvāna akarana*. "Boundless Time," which became a Deity; see the sect of the Zervanites already more than once noticed.

At xvi. 3, the angel that poured into the sea recalls the Goshpatshah of the Mainyu-i-Khard. In xvi. 13, the "unclean spirits like frogs" strikingly recall the fact that the frog was perhaps the most prominent among unclean beasts in Avesta. And let me also say here in passing that the Avesta alone affords rational explanation of the distinction between clean and unclean, from the fact that the Devil made the latter. Many animals (like indeed the very ones here in question, the frogs) were quite harmless except as regards some nocturnal voicings, and even used as choice food in some localities; but they were ostracized from the "pure creation," and solely because *their creator was the Iranian Satan*.

Notice again the "Lord of Lords and King of Kings" (xvii. 14). The "angel having great authority" (xviii. 1) is again a fine Khshathra, Ahura's Sovereign Power. The angel "with the great mill-stone" recalls the mythical Zoroaster who assaults the enemy with an enormous piece of rock, "large as a cottage," so some render. The Amen (xix. 4) is again always a good Asha, Ahura's "Law and Truth." In xix. 6, we have Ahura reigning, in 7, again the glory, Hvarenah. The "marriage of the Lamb" (xix. 9) recalls the figurative concept of the "wives of God," and again, the sacred feast of the Zoroastrian heaven. In xix.

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II, we have a rare bit of Zoroastrian drawing. The "white horse" once more immediately suggests again the "white steed" of the Yasht to victory; see also the four-span white horses of Sraosha. The "faithful and true" one recalls the old Persian ideal (see Herodotus); it had its root in Aśha. The "word of God" is again the Honover which was "before the world," and "the sword by which His angel slays" the Devil, so Zoroaster repels him in his "temptation" with it. The name upon his thigh is again our Aryan "King of Kings" of the Inscriptions, here fitting in especially because not applied to the Supreme Deity, as indeed also once in Daniel where as in the Persian Inscription it refers to a human potentate. In xix 17, we have the Hvare Khsh(a)-eta as the shining sun once more; recall again Ezekiel viii. 16, with "the five and twenty who, turning their backs to the temple, worshiped the sun." The Ezekiel passages cannot be called pre-Exilic, nor, if they were genuinely of his date, can they be said to rank the Daric Inscriptions, which were supposed to be somewhat later; for, while it is absolutely certain that the allusion to the sun-worshippers was motived by foreign influence upon the Jews, the expressions upon the Inscriptions as positively prove that they had long pre-existing native predecessors; or that they were even stereotyped formulas; see whole sentences mathematically repeated in the Inscriptions on Behistān and on those elsewhere which were later than Darius. This proves almost conclusively that Darius's terms were formulas long since used also by his predecessors as well, so that an inscriptional expression necessarily implies an earlier original in Iran; but the same argument does not hold with regard to the terms in Ezekiel to prove a prior Israelitish origin, because these latter were *distinctly of foreign origin*. We can not say in regard to those of Israel, as we can say of those of Behistān, that these ideas in Ezekiel must have had predecessors in Israel. For it

seems to be distinctly acknowledged by all fair-minded and capable persons that the general cast of ideas as regards the eschatology and its kindred points existing in the time of the Exile and subsequently to it, was strikingly different from the tone of thought upon these subjects in the earlier Biblical literature. "Satan being bound a thousand years" (xx. 3, 5) rests broadly upon Zoroastrian Chiliasm; see Plutarch's account of it; see also the later Bundahesh which is a pure development from the earliest documents; see also below. The expression "a thousand years" occurs more than three times in the Avesta itself, and all the other features are likewise marked in it. Recall also the expressions cited by Plutarch from Theopompus (?).

The "Throne of God and of the Lamb" (xxii. 1) again recalls Ahura's throne with Vohu Manah. The angel sent to show the revelation (xxii. 8) again recalls Sraosha both in Yasna XXVIII and in the Artā-i-Virāf. "The pure river of the water of life" (xxii. 1) makes us think at once of *Ardrvi sūra Anāhita*, "the river lofty, heroic, (i. e., effective), and the spotless which purified all seed, and all generative production;" see also the other holy waters so constantly in evidence. Without laying the smallest stress upon any possible or probable immediate literary connection showing the influence of the Avesta in the above particulars cited from Ezekiel, Zechariah, Daniel and the Apocalypse, it is yet difficult to resist the conviction from the whole of them, that they conjointly indicate the intellectual and esthetic world in which the Exilic and post-Exilic Jews and Jewish Christians lived; and that this was dominated by the scenes and associations of the Perso-Babylonian Exile. But the Perso-Babylonian intellectual world was interpenetrated with the same type of conception and imagery which previously, or simultaneously, prevailed in the Median Zoroastrianism and in the religion of the Daric

Achæmenian inscriptions; and the "captive exiles" are twice pointedly said to have been re-settled in the "Cities of the Medes" as well as in Assyria. If this were the case the priests of the people were in almost daily contact with highly ritualistic Zoroastrians or pre-Zoroastrians, if I might so express myself, Zoroastrianism being of course only a culmination. Even had they never met the Median priests, which is well-nigh impossible, the main tenets of Zoroastrianism were daily forced upon their notice through the laity, who had later five periods in the day for reciting prayers, and may have had them earlier. Here then was "contact" and in pre-eminence.

THE CONCEPT OF ETERNITY IN GENERAL.

This is now a convenient place for us to pause and recall the main Jewish Exilic and the Zoroastrian concepts of eternity in general, more closely considering them as applied to the supposed existence of the supernatural beings above discussed. As we have already conceded, the pre-Exilic concepts of futurity were extremely indistinct, but under the general inspiration of the Exile the other life began to take on its now familiar marked characteristics; see above. This has been our result so far.

Prominent among the expressions used would be "for ever and ever"; see Daniel ii. 4; ii. 44; the New Testament needs not to be cited. So that we have before us an entirely fresh *Dogmatik* as to this particular in their Exilic and post-Exilic documents.

But in the Avesta we have an "endless futurity" from the remotest inception of the lore and we have also in it, as we may well claim, the earliest expression of the idea in a refined literature and outside of barbaric assertions of it. This occurs in the oldest Avesta in such terms as *vispāi yāvōi*, "to all futurity," *yavaetaitē*, "in the contin-

uance, i. e., forever," as well as in the entire build and organic unity of the works which substantiate our claim for the Avesta that it is the first document of this concept. "Immortality" of another kind must have been thought of times without number wherever the human race appeared; recall the common visions of the dead in cerebral hyper-action, as in dreams. In our natural anxiety to do justice to the initiative of the Avesta upon this particular, we must by no means make light of this.

Unquestionably indeed the thought of immortality in the Veda first acquired consistency from that of "long life" only, the "hundred autumns" of the Rik. The fact that the word for it is literally "immortality," *Ameretatāt*, the identical term, differing only in the suffix (see above), should by no means however decide the matter for us, as a beginner might so naturally suppose; for mere "long life" in this world, was certainly expressed by such a word as "non-death," just as by a curious anomaly "eternity" was, on the contrary, at times expressed by a word literally merely "long-life" as in the Veda; and there is some doubt that the term *dirghayu*—or read *dirghayo*—does not mean "Thou eternal" after all in the Gātha; see Y. XXVIII. Be this all in the fact of it as it may, the idea is constructively applied even in the Gāthas to Ahura as well as to His saints, and must therefore in such connections mean "long eternal life"¹ while in the next oldest book, the Haptanghaiti, the term *Amesha* (better *Amersha*, i. e., "immortal"; see above), is directly applied to the Archangels, in which case this word *Ameretatāt* must certainly mean at times something very different from "old age." As to human immortality, see everywhere; but as to the more pointed particulars of the subject, see below.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

¹Certainly in Yasht, XIII, 83, where *Ameretatāt* has Ahura as her father.

AGRICULTURE THE BASIS OF EDUCATION.

THAT agriculture furnishes the material basis for civilization has long been recognized, but we continue to forget that it is no less truly the basis of intellectual and social development. By no system or method of formal education can children confined to city houses, door-steps, paved streets and schools, be brought to their full mental stature; the chances are even smaller than that their bodies will develop fully under these unnatural conditions. There is no substitute for direct contacts with nature and with the parent generation on the intellectual side, any more than on the physical.

Plants and animals grow up, each according to its own kind, endowed by heredity with the tendencies and instincts of its species. Only our own offspring and the animals which we have subdued and domesticated are objects of educational efforts. With the animals we use better judgment than with the children, for we do not expect that education can supply the deficiencies of adverse conditions during the earlier stages of existence. We do not hope by later training to make a prize-winner of a stall-raised, stumbling, half-blind colt. We have learned some ways in which it is safe to assist or to supplement nature, but no safe ways to antagonize or to supplant nature. Education has no creative power in itself, as a machine of institutions and methods, but has true

value only when it adds something to the results of natural growth.

Interest is intellectual appetite. It is the index of the mind's readiness for the assimilation of knowledge. Formal instruction does not arouse interest in nature and in human activities, but can speedily deaden and destroy it, especially if the brain be fermenting already with other undigested materials. Minds are weakened by this scholastic dyspepsia, just as bodies would be if all athletes were required to weigh 200 pounds. Subsequent exercise in the world of concrete realities may reduce these mental drop-sies, but usually a permanent handicap of ineptitude remains. It is as though the horse-breeders were to follow the methods of the hog-raisers, or as though the system of producing fat-livered geese were applied to game-cocks or to carrier-pigeons. Education means greater power of action, not mere plethora of erudition. The monastic and scholastic traditions do not contain the true or final ideals. Education is a biological subject, a part of life, and must continue to change as life changes, unless it is to hamper or destroy. Endowed systems of education may prove as dangerous to human progress as endowed institutions of religion, if they train the young to face the past instead of the future.

More fundamental than all questions of subject-matter and methods of formal education are the two primal contacts of the child, with nature and with the parents. To weaken these contacts is to impair the conditions of normal development, the basis on which all more specialized forms of training must rest. Association with contemporaries, and technical instruction in literature, sciences and arts, have legitimate positions in the educational superstructure, but they can not replace defective foundations.

The actual labor of farming may not have an educational superiority over many other vocations, except for

the greater variety and the more numerous contacts with nature. The farmer who limits his interest to cows or cabbages, to make a little more money, has missed his calling—he should move to town and become a plumber. Work of any kind may be carried to excess, weariness and disgust. Among the Hindus the son regularly takes up his father's occupation, but we are approaching the other extreme. Few people in our cities are sufficiently contented with their work to wish their sons to follow them, which is another cause of weaker contacts between the generations. Many other productive arts could be combined very well with agriculture if the importance of this were adequately realized, but humanity still rates itself cheaper than machinery. People huddle themselves in squalor, to work night and day, lest the precious machines be idle or yield a smaller percentage on the investment. Slum competition restricts the industrial activity of the farm-dwelling part of the community, but other tendencies are now appearing which may bring important advantages to the farm and lessen the unfortunate attractions of the city.

It is not strange that there should be many efforts to avoid by educational means the deterioration which overtakes the populations of cities and towns. Some of these reforms may be good in themselves, or at least better than others, but they all have the dangerous tendency to conceal the main issues and thus to interfere with right action, even by those who consider the welfare of their children as not merely incidental to other interests, financial or social. Every year thousands of devoted parents move to towns and cities in the mistaken belief that they will benefit their children by sending them to larger and more specialized schools. They often leave behind much more truly educational conditions than any they can find in the cities.

The physical and moral degeneracy of city populations

has long been recognized, but the intellectual deterioration and its equally inevitable causes are generally overlooked. Education has become a cult, and even a superstition. There is widespread dissatisfaction with the actual results of the schools, but everywhere the same confident hope that some new jugglery of educational fads is about to protect the younger children, at least, against the evil estate to which parental folly continues to expose them. Burnt children avoid fire, but disappointed parents find no alternatives.

The mental conditions of agriculture are just as essential to the normal development of the human mind as air, food and exercise for the development of the body. Nature is highly complex, and also exceedingly fine-grained; it is only in contact with this multiplicity of fine-grained facts of nature that fine-grained perceptions are developed by the child. Sensitive feelings there may be, and even super-sensitive, without such contact, just as vegetables in the cellar may send out stems much longer than in the garden, though pale and spindling. Human culture, when set apart from nature, is only a hothouse plant, unable to maintain, justify, or enjoy its own existence. Much less does it furnish a true basis of judgment in the study of the general problems of human development.

The education of the children of city and town populations is truly a humanitarian task of vast proportions. City schools, no less than asylums and jails, are charitable and disciplinary institutions required by the community for the care of the superfluous and troublesome elements of the population. The worse the home conditions, the better, by contrast, are the schools, but this does not prove that schools can supply a complete education, or even its most important elements. Children are obviously out of place in cities. Flat-owners who refuse children as tenants might justify their course by motives of true philanthropy, and

set a good example for the shops, factories and schools. The city school is often only an educational sweat-shop. The slum children are receiving all the pity, but well-to-do parents are committing the same unconscious crimes without the excuse of poverty. Some methods of education may retard more than others the inevitable degeneration, but there is no reason to suppose that even the most complete and elaborate of formal systems can counteract the effects of shutting children away from nature and from their parents during the years when the senses are susceptible of their most rapid and permanent progress.

The attempt has often been made, though never with conspicuous success, to graft agriculture and other natural sciences into scholastic courses of study, but formal learning leads away from nature rather than toward it. Educational systems tend always to prefer formulated knowledge, for this avoids the endless difficulty of preserving connections with concrete facts. Such freedom from practical contacts was what was originally meant by "liberal education," the education of the free, who did not have to work, as distinguished from the technical training of servile mechanics and artisans.

Nature has not been formulated, and never will be, for each species of plants and animals is following its own separate pathway of evolution. There are no general laws or principles of botany, zoology or agriculture. The characters and habits of the different kinds of plants and animals are as arbitrary as the grammatical rules of the different languages, and with the same multiplicity of exceptions. To formulate nature is as hopeless as the writing of general rules of grammar to apply to all languages. Some even deny that knowledge of nature, agriculture or language is really science, because no general laws are available for purposes of formal instruction.

It is generally agreed that the complete mastery of a

foreign language is seldom possible if the undertaking be deferred to maturity. Particular muscles, nerves and brain-cells are developed, according to students of speech, to form particular sounds, and these are not readily added or adapted in the adult anatomy. The multifarious agricultural contacts with nature are similar; unless supplied in childhood and youth they seem to find no adequate entrance or function in the mind. This may account for the wide differences of standpoints and methods of thought between country and city people. The farmer may assimilate himself to the city, but the city-bred man, even with the most bucolic intentions, very seldom comes to be more than an "agriculturist." It usually requires two generations to fully shake off the bondage of the city, and the feat is seldom accomplished.

If the ability to learn languages be well exercised during childhood and youth a large measure of it can usually be retained in maturity, and even in old age. Powers of perception, if allowed to develop in the early years, need not be lost in the later; but formal education often relegates the perceptive talents to a long period of disuse while attempting to bring the rational faculties to a precocious expansion.

The mind of childhood, rather than that of later youth or manhood, is adapted to absorb the vast number and complexity of details with which all nature contacts abound. Not to have these contacts at the right time of life is to be always out of joint with the terrestrial environment—to remain a transient boarder and never completely qualify as a true inhabitant of the earth. Erudition, skill, and even leadership, may be acquired by those who lack these primal contacts, but their minds are without adequate backgrounds, their thinking essentially superficial, and their ideals vain and sterile. It would be strange, indeed, if people of great natural ability did not abound in

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cities, for city populations are continually recruited from the most capable people from the country. Cities have the best of the human material, but they spoil it in the making, and must continue to import rural talent to make good the deterioration.

The need of rehearsing these well-known facts becomes more acutely apparent with each new suggestion of an improved method or detail of formal instruction. That there is somewhere a fundamental deficiency with our theories and systems of education is widely appreciated, and reformations are being attempted in many directions. Thus Mr. Arthur Somervell has argued with much force that the deficiencies of modern education are to be explained by the lack of adequate musical training.* Judged by their artistic results, the Greek methods of education are shown to have been much more efficient than ours. This is ascribed to the fact that music, the primary element with the Greeks, has been neglected or omitted altogether in modern systems. Language and mathematics constituted our so-called "classical education" before the demands of science secured recognition and diminished still farther the time available for musical training.

This claim of fundamental educational importance is not made, of course, for music in the modern, narrowly technical sense, but as including all forms of training of the sensibilities of rhythm and proportion. In spite of many difficulties of expression, an excellent argument is developed to show that such esthetic training may have an important function in aiding the development of truly enlightened judgment, both personal and national. The Japanese are cited as a modern instance of the efficiency of a nation with a universal musical training. England is also contrasted with the more progressive modern Ger-

* Arthur Somervell, "Music as a Factor in National Life." *Monthly Review*, May, 1905.

many, where English dramatic poetry is used more extensively than at home.

With the Greeks music seems to have included all forms of rhythmic activity and expression, but moderns have made music something very different. It is no longer primarily a form, method or accompaniment of activity or expression, but a substitute for activity and expression. Instead of a stimulant, it has become a narcotic. Its crowning and most consistent development is the musical box, which helps us to do nothing and think of nothing. The ancient music had important functions, like the sacrifices and incense which youths burned before the shrines of their gods and heroes, resolving to emulate their warlike virtues. Our modern youths burn their incense in the form of cigarettes, and thus secure contentment without the need of effort. Incense and music have uses as long as they contribute to beneficial forms of activity, but may become worse than useless when treated as objects of gratification in themselves.

Such by-paths of barren specializations of normal powers and activities are frequent along the whole course of human development. A man with normal taste for food and drink may degenerate into a glutton, a gourmet, or an inebriate. The instincts which lie at the basis of the family and the preservation and development of the race are likewise capable of endless perversions. Every taste or talent can be prostituted and sterilized in one way or another, even including arts, sciences and religions. There is no salvation in any of those things, of and by itself, unless they lead toward development. Music which has no relation to useful activity is unprofitable and decadent. It may afford a relatively harmless antidote or diluent of more injurious perversions, but it will not build our civilization nor regenerate our society.

The value of the musical training advocated by Mr.

Somervell appears to lie not only in the better development of the esthetic faculties, but in the enlargement of the powers of expression. Rhythmical methods of expression are actually the most efficient methods. Mr. Somervell cites Elizabethan England, the "nest of singing birds," as an example of the practical benefit of "the great imaginative training on which all right education should be built up." It is in these periods of literary climax that the world's accumulated experience is brought into the clearest expression.

By musical training it is hoped to correct the lack of imagination which Mr. Somervell perceives to be a very serious deficiency. But there must be materials of imagination as well as methods of encouraging activity of imagination. The imagination which is the worthy object of educational solicitude is not mere vagrant fancy, but the power of the mind to reproduce, combine, compare and elaborate the data of previous experience. Effective imagination is as impossible without clear perception as vision without light. To imagine clearly is to see things in right relations. To perceive dimly and imagine vaguely is to have a bog under foot and a fog overhead. Truth appears stranger than fiction, because fiction is our usual state, truth a rare illumination.

The Greek child appears to have obtained the matter as well as the method of imagination from the close and accurate perception of facts of nature, family life and physical training, as well as from "the traditional tales of his race," most notably, of course, from the vivid perceptions of the poems of Homer. These unique prehistoric compositions attained wide popular appreciation while the Greeks were still simple farmers, and before they had become acquainted with the arts of writing and of formal education. We are well warned, therefore, that the supreme beauty and efficiency of the Greek mind was developed under con-

ditions widely removed from our modern ideals of education, and also far different from those of the already degenerate Athens of Socrates and Plato.

Educated Greeks of the Socratic period were much more interested in the framing of theories of beauty and morality than they were in the practice of these arts. Three centuries later, in the times of Plutarch, Greek gentlemen still affected to admire statuary, but could no longer understand how the carving of statues could be a pleasure. Homer, on the other hand, represents Ulysses as quite as proud of his skill in plowing a furrow or in building a bed as of his exploits as warrior and navigator. The charm of the Homeric age is that men saw the world clearly, and took pleasure in the seeing. They were still as gods, for life and its activities were a joy to them. Nor is this spirit altogether departed from the world. Echoes still linger on our Western prairies and other frontiers of civilization where the children have not heard the doctrine of the overworked school-mistress that "all learning is painful."

The Greek theory of formal education was one of the products of the Greek genius, instead of having produced that genius. Moreover, the theory was a failure, for it did not save the Greek civilization, and may even have hastened its degeneration. Greek culture blossomed into artistic expression very rapidly, and deteriorated with equal promptness. Pisistratus, who collected the poems of Homer from the rhapsodists or professional memorizers, and reduced them to writing, died only sixty years before Socrates was born, and only a hundred years before Plato. Pythagoras and the natural philosophers, more truly scientific than Plato, came earlier, some of them well back toward the uncertain antiquity of the Homeric age, before written language and formal education began to be cults, or objects of value and excellence in themselves. Plato seems to have done more than any other one man to tie

the human intellect fast in the net of deductive logic, in which it still remains very much entangled. Reasoning from generalized abstractions instead of from clearly formed concepts is still frequently attempted, even in the concrete physical sciences.*

We may not hope to solve the problems of education, any more than those of politics or religion, by turning the centuries back. Ideals are vain which do not enable us to see possibilities of beauty in our own time and in the future, and not merely in a lost antiquity. Science, though it dispels myths, can furnish a wealth of materials for the enrichment of the imagination—far beyond the dreams of the Homeric or any other age. But who shall bring these conceptions into clear expression, and make them the objects of living interest and youthful ambition?

"The study of science can undoubtedly serve to draw out in the student a perception of the rhythm and unity of things, and where there is even a touch of the true scientific imagination, it must reach heights of which the ordinary man can have no conception. But if, as is frequently urged, scientific training is substituted in early years almost entirely for art and language, it seems to me there is one serious risk. The purely intellectual and unimaginative scientist is far commoner—strange as it may seem—than the purely intellectual and unimaginative artist; and a purely intellectual interest in science is so much more easily aroused in a child, than a purely intellectual interest in music, painting, or poetry, that a child so taught, may wander for years in a dry desert of fact."

* "For in Greece the development of thought reverses the direction taken in all other nations. It begins apparently where the others end, and it ends where the others begin. Broadly viewed, the movement of Greek thought is from science to theology, or rather theosophy; elsewhere it starts from theology and struggles towards science. The emancipation from the theological preoccupations, with which the scientific philosophy of the Ionians appears to have started, is an extraordinary and unique phenomenon. In Egypt, in Babylonia, in India, reflection never frees itself from the fascinations of religious speculation...." Schiller, F. C. S., 1906. "Plato and His Predecessors," *The Quarterly Review*, 204: 70.

Mr. Somervell might have added that there is no part of the field of education in which the lack of a developed imagination becomes so painfully evident as in science itself. Unimaginative scientists there may be, but they are not very intellectual, nor very scientific. Scientific erudition is often as barren and unprogressive as any other formal learning. Imagination is required in science, not only to project new theories, but to enable us to perceive and readjust ourselves to new facts. If such readjustments could be made promptly the progress of science would be much more rapid than it is, particularly in the biological sciences where many of the most important facts have to be learned inferentially. Darwin's doctrine of evolution was rejected by Owen and Agassiz, probably the two men in all the world who knew the most facts in its favor and could have given it the strongest and most effective support. And in matters of less general interest the same phenomenon is encountered. A theory-subverting fact or an improved classification may not be admitted by the contemporaries of its discoverer, but often waits until later generations have grown up, to whom the idea does not come as new, and thus makes less demand for a reconstructive imagination.

Failure to appreciate the discoveries of others limits scientific originality, for every new fact may serve in turn as the standpoint of further discovery. Ambition of discovery blinds the eyes of the perverse originalist. Science is advanced by a lively interest and a clear apprehension of the facts, without particular regard to novelty. The idea that young men can be trained to become scientific investigators is largely fallacious. If they are not investigators during the period of training, they do not become investigators afterward. We have but to preserve and develop the normal curiosity of the child, for of such is the republic of science.

We want what the Greeks had, and something more; and not the educational methods merely, but the reasons for them, clearly understood and reduced to definite expression, so that the race may not again lose the pathway which leads to the development of its higher powers. Many civilizations have grown up, but none has yet emerged into the light of full consciousness, so that it knows where its strength lies and how to maintain itself on the pathway toward further progress. This is the central problem of expression, to which all others are merely preparations and accessories. In the broadest sense it is an educational problem, for that race best assures its existence which best provides for the full development of the successive generations.

To break the physical contacts of the home so that the children are not nourished, sheltered, clothed and washed, but condemned to squalor and overwork, is generally appreciated as a crime, but it is no less definitely injurious to deprive the children of other parts of their post-natal inheritance, the accumulated experience of the race, which can be transmitted only through adequate associations between the generations. It is not enough that normal babies be born, and that children have pure air, wholesome food and adequate exercise, so that their bodies attain normal physical development. Even when these material conditions are supplied they carry the young only to the status of savages, unless effective contacts with the older members of the community are maintained.

The human species differs from all others in that the parental instincts are not temporary, but continue to strengthen with age. It is often not the parents themselves, but the grandparents, who supply the widest experience and the most sympathetic relations, especially with the younger children. The importance in human evolution of this overlapping of the generations becomes

very obvious among primitive peoples, who often marry young, before the parental instincts are strongly developed. The care of the children devolves largely on the grandparents, leaving the active members of the community more free for labor or the chase. While the social systems of savages are not always to be accepted as models for civilized man, there can be little doubt that civilization is losing much through the waste of grandparental instincts involved in our selfish individualism and our blind faith in formal education.

It is only in agricultural communities that these necessary contacts with nature and between the successive generations are well assured; just as it is only in agricultural societies that civilizations are developed and maintained. As soon as the more capable elements of a race pass definitely away from the agricultural status and become urban parasites, the deterioration of its civilization begins.

Behind the Athens of schools and theories of education was the life of the "Heroic Age," when the Greek race developed its unrivaled excellence of taste and talent, so that it could borrow letters and other foreign arts and promptly refine them into patterns of excellence for all succeeding ages. What was the life of the Greeks, and of Greek boys and girls during this pre-scholastic period? The educationists have not told us about this—probably they are not interested. It has not occurred to them that the decline of Greek life could have any possible connection with the attainment of that degree of wealth and culture which betrayed the Athenians to resign the care of their children to slaves and pedagogues, grammarians and rhetoricians.

We have taken too seriously this outer shell of the Greek culture, just as the African savage imagines that he is civilized as soon as he has covered his skin with a suit of filth-accumulating clothes. Men who clearly owe their

success in life to free contacts with nature and with their fellows, regularly make use of their wealth to deprive their children of any similar opportunities of development. If the young people are diligent and tractable they are kept in schools for twenty years or more, in the complacent belief that only in this way can the full parental duty be performed, so great is our blind and superstitious faith in formal education.

Great men of all the ages have commended solitude as one of the most important of educational factors. A mind unable to support its own existence and follow its own interests without external direction or compulsion is either of inferior quality, or lacking in development. And yet what proportion of our normal and naturally capable young people become self-acting or attain to self-knowledge? Solitude can not be provided on the factory system, and educators have ceased to consider it, despite all the opinions of saints and sages. Policies of educational centralization are driving the lambs in larger and larger flocks, and would allow only the maimed or the incapable to wander alone and come into direct relations with their environment.

It is true that solitude and nature contacts are not enough. Human associations there must also be, if a worthy picture is to be painted on the background which nature can prepare. Farm life is often not merely rude, but sordid, and very unfavorable for the continued development of the higher human qualities. But this barbarism still lingers among us largely because we have relied too much on formal education, instead of perfecting the other arts of life. As schools are now, the development of talent in the country lad, instead of qualifying him to work an improvement in the home community, usually makes him only an easier recruit for the sterile and degenerate existence of the city.

The school has become an agent of social disorganization, weakening the contacts between successive generations. The boy spends his time with his undeveloped contemporaries, instead of with his experienced elders. "Send your son to college and the boys will educate him," was Emerson's assurance, but the chances are that they will only qualify him as a member of their own premature and reactionary social organization, occupying his mind with fraternity or institutional interests, rather than with truly human points of view. The Athenian educational industry did not develop to the modern factory system; it reached only the shop stage. Nevertheless, the conditions of childhood and youth were already markedly different from those of the earlier and more strictly agricultural period, when perceptions of nature were so scientifically sensitive, accurate and affectionate. Instead of having less scientific training than the modern child, the young Greek of the Homeric age appears to have had much more intimate and adequate contacts with nature and with his elders than our modern system of education provides, or even permits.

If this curtain of primitive life could be raised we would doubtless find some strange and unexpected things. How many of our school-boys know the varieties of domestic fruits, and what are their characters and qualities? Fruits, even to most farmers, are merely a commodity, something to eat and to sell. Farmers from Maine to California have planted their orchards with inferior sorts because their urban customers have lost a discriminating knowledge of varieties, and now buy fruits mostly from size and external appearance.

Even boys and girls on the farm often fail to learn the varieties which the home acres produce. The children are too busy going to school, and the fathers too busy earning the money to send them. Knowledge of varieties

of domestic fruits is not considered in schools, except for courses in pomology in a few agricultural institutions. And yet it is just such knowledge, practical, detailed, and truly scientific, which Homer represents as the most vivid recollection of childhood, rehearsed by the returning hero Ulysses to his aged father, to prove himself the long-lost son.

"Yet again, if thou wilt, I will tell thee the trees the orchard through

Which thou gavest to me long ago, when I asked thee of all things there,

The lad running after thy steps through the garden everywhere:

And we passed through the selfsame trees: thou didst tell me the names of them then.

Ten apple-trees gavest thou me, and pear-trees three and ten,

And fig-trees forty; and fifty rows of the vine didst thou name,

Saying 'These do I give thee'—the ripening season of none was the same.

And of manifold kind are the clusters that hang on the branches thereof,

When the seasons with sunshine and rain beat down in their strength from above."*

The conditions of agricultural life in early Greek times provided these adequate and sympathetic contacts between the generations. They supplied a truly scientific basis for the unique perfection of classical culture and art. Our modern theories and practices of formal education ignore these necessary contacts, and deceive us with the vain hope that normal human development can be attained without them.

Ideal education is the condition in which there is full

* Arthur S. Way, *The Odyssey of Homer*, 1904, Book XXIV, p. 317.

development of human powers and talents, of body, mind, and spirit, or of hand, head and heart, as the popular alliteration has it. Education is not, primarily, a matter of schools and systems of formal instruction, but of maintaining the contacts with nature and with the preceding generations. Institutions which weaken these contacts are not truly educational, but have the contrary effect of arresting the development, both of the individual and of the race.

O. F. COOK.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE ORACLE OF YAHVEH.

THE URIM AND THUMMIM, THE EPHOD, AND THE BREAST- PLATE OF JUDGMENT.

THE ancient Hebrews had a method of consulting God by an oracle of lots called "Urim and Thummim," and in connection with it the ephod is mentioned as the utensil of divining.

Though the oracle by the Urim and Thummim played an important part in the ancient history of the people of Israel, its practice fell gradually into disuse. It was first abandoned, presumably as a relic of paganism, and its methods were absolutely forgotten during the exile, while in the post-Exilic age the loss of it was deeply deplored. Josephus¹ says that two hundred years before his time the Urim and Thummim had ceased to light up, but his statement is based on the very lowest margin, for they are no longer mentioned as being consulted after Solomon's reign.

How much the oracle of the ephod by the Urim and Thummim formed part of Israel's religion previous to the temple reform appears from Hosea² who prophesies that "The children of Israel shall abide many days without a king, and without a prince, and without a sacrifice, and without an image, and without an ephod, and without teraphim."

Our text of the prophet Hosea adds: "Afterward shall

¹ Antiqu. III, 7.

² iii. 4-5.

the children of Israel return, and seek the Lord their God, and David their king; and shall fear the Lord and his goodness in the latter days."

The addition by an almost unanimous consent of the higher critics is regarded as a post-Exilic gloss, and we note in it the omission of a reference to an image, an ephod, and the teraphim, which latter were the *penates* or family gods of the ancient Israelites. In Hosea's time sacrifices, image worship, the use of the ephod and of teraphim were not yet tainted with the reproach of paganism.

The priestly redactor of the Gideon³ story condemns the setting up of the ephod as "idolatrous," using the strongest possible term, and adds, "which thing became a snare unto Gideon and his house."

An attempt was made to restore the oracle of the Urim and Thummim in the Jerusalem temple service, but we have no assurance that it was the same institution as in the days of Samuel, Saul and David. In fact though the high priest was in possession of the Urim and Thummim and bore them on his heart in the Holy of Holies, we do not know that the oracle was ever consulted in those later times. Josephus and Philo⁴ mention the Urim and Thummim, but it is apparent that their comments are mere guesses and can not be relied upon.

Josephus describes the ephod as a kind of garment with sleeves, but open in front; and under his influence Luther translated the word by *Leibrock*.

We may assume that Philo and Josephus knew as much about the ephod and the Urim and Thummim as any educated Jew of their age, but their comments are contrary to established facts; they are no longer based upon positive knowledge and must be regarded as a product of pure imagination.

³ Judges viii. 27.

⁴ De Vita Mosis VIII, p. 670 C, 671 DE and De Monarch, p. 824 A.

Accordingly we have three sources of a widely different character on the Urim and Thummim as well as the instruments connected with the oracle of Israel: (1) the references to them in the historical books, (2) the description of the dress of the high priest, and (3) the passages in Philo and Josephus as well as all later rabbinical explanations. It is obvious that only the passages in the historical books can be relied upon. The utensils of the post-Exilic age are the manufacture of an archaistic reform, for the absence of this divine oracle is sorely felt as early as in the days of Ezra and Nehemiah, as indicated in the passage that men whose Hebrew descent was doubtful should not be priests, and it was decided that "they should not eat of the most holy things until there stood up a priest with Urim and Thummim," which means that their unproved claims could be tested only by the unequivocal verdict of a direct and divine decision not obtainable at the time.⁵

HISTORICAL REFERENCES.

The way in which the ephod was employed in the oracle of Urim and Thummim does not receive a detailed explanation in any of the historical books of the Old Testament. It is assumed that the reader is familiar with it. Sometimes the ark takes the place of the ephod. The man who wants to consult the oracle says: "Bring me hither the ephod" (1 Sam. xxx. 7) or "Bring hither the ark of God" (1 Sam. xiv. 18). The ephod or the ark was brought and the hand was needed to do the work, for when Saul wanted to stop the consultation, "he said unto the priest, 'Withdraw thine hand.'"

The ephod was worn by the Levites, priests and prophets, (1 Sam. xiv. 3) and in 1 Sam. xxii. 18 we read of "fourscore and five persons that did wear a linen ephod."

⁵ Neh. vii. 65; Ezra iii. 63; 1 Esdras v. 40.

It is stated that in the days of Moses everything, both the going out and the coming in, was undertaken only after consulting "Eleazar the priest who shall ask counsel after the judgment of Urim before the Lord." (Num. xxvii. 21.)

Once the Israelites had omitted to consult Yahveh (Joshua ix. 14), and it is plainly indicated that in consequence of it they pursued a wrong policy toward the Gibeonites.

When not used the ephod was carried on the body, and it is spoken of as being girded around the loins. The verb *aphad*,⁶ from which ephod⁷ is derived, means "to gird."

In the priestly writings the belt is specially mentioned as distinct from the ephod, and it is called *khesheb*,⁸ i. e., "the thing curiously wrought," from *khashab*,⁹ "to think, to muse." In the historical writings, however, the *khesheb* is unknown.

The Urim and Thummim are said to be put into the ephod and so the ephod is commonly regarded as a pouch. Yet there are other data which seem to contradict this view.

The ephod is frequently described as being made of linen, but we have also references to it as manufactured of metal. Gideon melted the spoils of war, golden earrings to the weight of a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold, and made of them an ephod (Judges viii. 24-27). Further we read that the sword of Goliath was "wrapped in a cloth behind the ephod," (1 Sam. xxi. 9), which accordingly was not a mere pouch but a solid thing standing erect upon the altar.

These apparent contradictions have suggested the idea to biblical scholars that the word ephod denotes two different things, (1) a garment that is worn, and (2) an idol made of metal which formed a part of ancient idolatry,

⁶ אָפָד⁷ אֶפֶד⁸ חֶשֶׁב⁹ חָשַׁב

an interpretation which also did good service to explain why the ephod is mostly mentioned with reverence and sometimes counted among the paraphernalia of paganism, to be discarded and looked upon with scorn by the reformers. Hosea (iii. 4) classes it in the same category with the teraphim, the pessel, and massepah (i. e., the graven and molten images).

It seems improbable, however, that the word "ephod" should have meant two different things, an idol and a piece of dress, but the several traditions can easily be explained when we consider that the ephod was always a receptacle. The portable ephod must have been worn as a pouch dangling from a belt. Possibly the strings that closed it served at the same time as a girdle. This form of the ephod does not exclude that other receptacles were used for the same purpose. We know that the ark of Yahveh was sometimes substituted for the ephod, and so it is by no means impossible that ephods could be made of metal as a vase that could be carried in the hand, or a large urn that was too weighty to be carried about easily and was placed upon the altar. Such an urn which was used for divining would naturally be regarded as sacred, and, representing the oracle of Yahveh, might have easily received undue veneration, hence its use as an idol.

In the story of David we read that he danced before the ark girded with a linen ephod (2 Sam. vi. 14) and so incurred the contempt of his wife Michal, who reproached him for "uncovering himself" (vi. 20) and denounced his demeanor as improper. The probable explanation of this passage is that in wearing the ephod David followed the old practice of prophets of a more primitive age in being otherwise naked,—a custom which is still observed in many religious ceremonies.

In the post-Exilic age the ephod and the Urim and Thummim appear to have become an exclusive privilege

of the high priest, but in olden times it seems that any priest could use them and there are indications that the Levites were thought to understand their use as if by an inborn instinct of the race. We read for instance in the story of Micah (Judges xvii. 4 ff.) whose "mother took two hundred shekels of silver and gave them to the founder, who made thereof a graven image and a molten image and they were in the house of Micah." But when a Levite of Bethlehem-judah, of the family of Judah, passed through his place, he engaged him for an annual salary of ten shekels. Presumably the Levites were originally priests and might be descendants of any clan, but when their profession became more and more hereditary they were regarded as a special tribe.

We read in the blessings wherewith Moses blessed the children of Israel before his death (Deut. xxxiii. 8):

"And of Levi, he said, Let thy Thummim and thy Urim be with thy Holy One whom thou didst prove at Massah and with whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah."¹⁰

THE MEANING OF THE WORDS.

The Greek versions of Urim and Thummim are *δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια* (i. e., "revelation and truth") and *φωτισμοὶ καὶ τελειώσεις*¹¹ (i. e., "the shining ones and perfections"), or *τελειότης καὶ διδαχή* (i. e., "perfection and instruction").

Latin translators follow their Greek predecessors. Symmachus uses the terms *ostensio* and *demonstratio et veritas*. Jerome translates *perfectio et doctrina*. The Vulgate translates *doctrina et veritas* or *perfectio*.

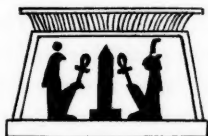
The English translation for Urim and Thummim is

¹⁰ The names "Massah" and "Meribah" refer to the incidents in Israel's pilgrimage through the desert (mentioned in Ex. xvii. 7, and in Num. xx. 13) when God miraculously supplied the people with water. *Massah* means "temptation," and *Meribah* "water of strife."

¹¹ Aquila and Theodocion.

"light and perfection," or for Thummim alone "perfect lot." Luther translates the two terms by "light" and "right" (*Licht* and *Recht*).

Among modern translators Luther clings most faithfully to the tradition suggested by the Greek meaning which chimes in well with the interpretation of Philo who thought that, in indication of an affirmative answer, the gems in the breastplate would light up. The opinion that "light and right" were represented in the Urim and Thummim has found considerable support in the fact, related by Diodorus (I, 48, 75) and Aelianus (*Var. Hist.* XIV, 34), that the Egyptian high priests, when appearing in court to sit in judgment, wore breastplates with the symbol of justice and truth. In the monuments of Egypt we



find this emblem, the figure of *Ma* frequently grouped together with *Ra*, the sungod, as it appears in the adjoined illustration reproduced after Wilkinson from Riehm's "Handbook of Biblical Antiquity," the standard work of German theology.¹²

If we consider that *Ma*, the goddess of truth, with prefixed article reads *Tma*, we can find a similarity of sound between *Thummim* and *Tma* and also between *Urim* and *Ra*. The latter word *Ra* recalls *Urim* still more when we compare it to the Coptic word *eroyoïni*, which means "illumination" and may have had the meaning of "revelation."

The Hebrew word *Urim*, if it is originally a Hebrew word, can be derived directly from *Or*,¹³ "light," and

¹² Riehm, *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums*, I, 931.

¹³ אֹר

should in that case be pronounced *Orim*,¹⁴ not as the text reads, *Urim*.¹⁵ The Greek translations still indicate this meaning.

The meaning of Thummim is not easily determined, for we can not doubt that the Greek translation "truth" is more an interpretation than a literal version. The other translation preserved by Jerome (*perfectio*) may be more correct just because it is more difficult to understand, for it seems to be based upon a more ancient and more obscured tradition.

Considering the fact that the words *urim* and *thummim* are two plural terms, and that they denote a contrast; that they were lots and must have been two sets of objects opposed the one to the other; we ought to find this contrast in the words themselves, and we see a possible solution in the proposition to explain "Thummim" as the symbols denoting innocence and "Urim," those denoting guilt, in which case, if the former is identified with the adjective *tamim*,¹⁶ "innocent, guiltless, upright," the latter would have to be derived from *arar*,¹⁷ "to curse." Plausible though this seems at first sight, we reject it because good and evil are not so sharply divided between the two, and an application to juridical cases is by no means a primary feature of the oracle.

The German translation, "light and right," seems to me as untenable as the English one, "light and perfection," for after all what we need is a contrast,—moreover a contrast between two sets, and assuredly not between two things of the same kind. If a lot of the set Urim means "light," any one of Thummim ought to mean "darkness"; if the former means "yes," the latter means "no"; if one denotes "guilty," the other indicates "innocent," but it acquires the meaning by contrast only.

¹⁴ אורִים¹⁵ אֲוִרִים¹⁶ תָּמִים¹⁷ אֲרָר perhaps related to the Latin *urere*, "to burn."

Accepting the traditional and most probable derivation of *thummim* from *thamam*,¹⁸ "to become perfect," we are inclined to explain the term to mean "the perfected ones," as denoting things which have reached their consummation.

The term *orim* as derived from the root *or* means "light," or "sunrise," or "morning," or "beginning," or "east"; *tom*,¹⁹ perhaps *tam*²⁰ or *tum*,²¹ should mean "completion," or "sunset," or "evening," or "end," or "west." They may fitly be translated by "the shining ones and the dim ones," or "start and finish," or "motion and rest," or "beginning and end," and when we consider that they were carried in a bag, it is more than probable that they were pebbles of two different colors, presumably white and black.

Though we may be pretty well assured that such was the meaning of the words *urim* and *thummim* and that they were so understood in the times of Samuel, the ultimate derivation of these terms may, for all we know, be Babylonian or even Sumerian, and attempts have been made to trace them in cuneiform inscriptions. *Urim* has been identified with *U'uru* (Piel of *a'uru*), kin to the noun *urtu*, "decision, command"; and *Thummim* with *tamitu*, "oracle." We must be satisfied with mentioning these propositions as not impossible and abstain from any further discussion for lack of definite evidence.

HOW THE ORACLE ANSWERED.

The answer which the Urim and Thummim gave when consulted was sometimes limited to a selection between yes and no, (as, e. g., in 1 Sam. x, 19-21), or between guilt and innocence (as in Joshua vii, and 1 Sam. xiv. 38-46). In the last-mentioned instance Saul chooses for himself

¹⁸ תָּמַם

¹⁹ תָּם

²⁰ תָּם

²¹ תָּם

"Thummim," and it seems a clear instance of an alternative decided by lot.

The Septuagint which must either have been translated from a more complete text, or intends to render the situation more indubitable, relates Saul's prayer thus: "Lord God of Israel, why hast thou to-day not answered thy servant? If the iniquity is with me or my son Jonathan, let there be Urim, and if it is with the people, let there be Thummim."²²

As a rule a repeated choice is made between two alternatives until the final decision is reached. When Samuel consulted Yahveh for the appointment of a king, he limited the choice until the lot fell on Saul. In the same way the cause of God's wrath was determined by singling out the guilty party when in one instance the lot fell on Achish (Josh. vii) and in another on Jonathan (1 Sam. xiv, 42).

Sometimes the oracle refuses to answer (1 Sam. xiv, 37), and this is regarded as a sign of God's wrath; as, for instance, in the case of Saul who had been rejected by Yahveh. We read that "When Saul enquired of the Lord, the Lord answered him not, neither by dreams, nor by Urim and Thummim, nor by prophets."²³

Sometimes the oracle yields a definite answer of which case the following instances are preserved:

When Israel was ready to invade Palestine, Yahveh was consulted and the answer was given: "Judah shall go up: behold I have delivered the land into his hand." (Judg. i. 2.)

When Israel waged a war of extermination against Benjamin the question arises, "Which of us shall go up first to the battle against the children of Benjamin," and the oracle answers: "Judah [shall go up] first." (Judges, xx. 18.)

The children of Benjamin were victorious and Israel

²² 1 Sam. xiv. 41.

²³ 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

suffered a grievous defeat at Gibeah. So they prayed and fasted and burned incense to Yahveh again, and when next they consulted the oracle, the answer came: "Go up, for to-morrow I will deliver them [the children of Benjamin] into thine hand." (Judges xx, 28.)

With reference to the place where Saul could be found after his election as king, the oracle declared: "Behold, he hath hid himself among the stuff." (1 Sam. x. 22.)

David consulted the oracle of Yahveh not less frequently than his predecessor. On one occasion he received the following answer:

"Arise, go down to Keilah, for I will deliver the Philistines into thine hand."

When the Amalekites had made a raid on Ziklag, David consulted Yahveh. We read in 1 Sam. xxx. 7-8:

"And David said to Abiathar the priest, Ahimelech's son, 'I pray thee, bring me hither the ephod.' And Abiathar brought thither the ephod to David. And David enquired at the Lord, saying, 'Shall I pursue after this troop? shall I overtake them?' And he answered him, 'Pursue; for thou shalt surely overtake them, and without fail recover all.'"

It must forever remain an open question whether the oracle yielded these answers in the form they are reported or whether they were mere repetitions of the several questions answered in the affirmative.

THE BREASTPLATE OF JUDGMENT.

In the description of the dress of the high priest the Urim and Thummim are mentioned in connection with both the ephod and the breastplate of judgment. The main passage is in Exodus xxviii, which is to be compared with Leviticus viii, both belonging to the priestly writings and now agreed upon to be post-Exilic.

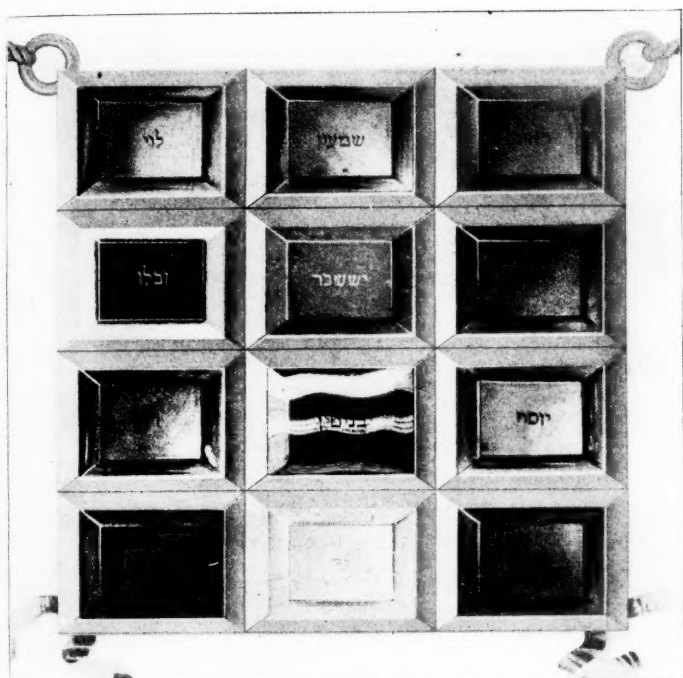
The breastplate of the high priest is called in Hebrew *khoshen hammishpat*.²⁴ The word *khoshen* is of doubtful meaning and of unknown etymology, but *mishpat* is well known and means "judgment, decision, destiny." This breastplate of judgment was ornamented "with cunning work" and was wrought of gold, blue, purple, and scarlet,



THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST IN HIS PONTIFICALS.

and of fine-twined linen. The high priest wore it on his breast, fastened with chains of pure gold on the four corners. Twelve precious stones, bearing the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, were set on it in four rows. The breastplate was tied by its rings to the rings of the ephod

²⁴ חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט



THE BREASTPLATE OF THE JEWISH HIGH PRIEST.

Reproduced by permission from a colored plate in the *Standard Dictionary*.

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with a lacing of blue (Ex. xxviii. 28) so as to be inseparable from the latter, and here the Urim and Thummim were kept.

The proposition of Josephus (Ant. III, 8, 9), that the precious stones on the breastplate were the Urim and Thummim, is refuted by the fact that they are distinctly mentioned in one and the same passage (Ex. xxviii. 17 and 30) as two different things and so this theory needs no refutation; but the idea that the breastplate was a receptacle or, as Professor Moore proposes, a pouch, and was made for the special purpose of receiving the Urim and Thummim is commonly accepted and seems at first sight quite plausible. It is based upon the translation of the mooted passage in the authorized version which is grammatically quite irreproachable, yet must be rejected as improbable and lacking, outside of this isolated passage, any positive support.

Here are the objections that should be made.

We know positively that the ephod, and not the breastplate, was the receptacle of the Urim and Thummim. Is it probable that the breastplate was only another form of the ephod? If so, why did the high priest wear both the breastplate and the ephod? Further if the breastplate was a pouch as much as the ephod, the main purpose of the breastplate must have been to serve as a receptacle, but we know that its significance consisted in the twelve symbolic gems which were placed on it.

The theory that the breastplate was a pouch rests wholly and solely on this one passage in Exodus xxviii. 30, which in our authorized version is rendered "And thou shalt put in the breastplate of judgment the Urim and Thummim," but we must bear in mind that the original is not so unequivocal as the English. The preposition *el*²⁵ is much less definite than our "in" or "into," and may as well

mean "behind" or "below" or "underneath." In fact the text suggests the latter and I should propose to translate it by "under" in preference to the "in" in the sense of "into"; for there is an obviously intentional contrast between the prepositions *el* and *'al*,²⁶ suggesting that the Urim and Thummim should be between two things, under the breastplate and above the heart. We translate as follows: "Thou shalt put *under* the breastplate of judgment the Urim and Thummim, and they shall be *above* the heart of Aaron when he comes *before* [literally 'to the face of']²⁷ Yahveh."

The breastplate of judgment is an emblem of authority, and its entire significance lies in the symbols shown on its surface. It is a tablet of deep mystical meaning and for that reason it should cover the Urim and Thummim kept in the ephod. It sanctifies them and displays in a duodecimal arrangement of gems the secret of their efficiency as a divine oracle.

THE BABYLONIAN TABLETS OF DESTINY.

It is interesting to notice that a utensil similar to the Hebrew breastplate of judgment is mentioned in Babylonian inscriptions; indeed the institution of a breastplate as an emblem of highest authority—nay also wisdom and magical power, goes back to the most primitive days of Akkad and Sumer. In the Creation Epic we read that Tiamat, the monster of the Deep, selected Kingu as her consort and as the leader in the battle against the gods. In this capacity Kingu received the tablets of judgment. We read in this ancient cosmological epic:

"Tiamat, Mother of the gods, rebelled against them,
A band she collected wrathfully raging,

.....

על 62

לשני 37

She raised Kingu and made him great in their midst,
 'The army to lead, that be thy mission.'

.....
 She gave him the destiny tablets, placed them upon
 his breast.

'Thy decision be valid; firm shall stand the behests of
 thy mouth.' "

When Kingu was overcome by Marduk, it is especially mentioned that the victorious god took away from Kingu his tablet of judgment. We read (*ibid.* p. 418):

"But Kingu who had power over them all [viz., the host
 of Tiamat],
 Him he [Marduk] vanquished and dealt with as the
 other gods,
 He snatched from him the destiny tablets which hung
 on his breast;
 He sealed them with his seal and hung them on his
 [own] breast."

When the gods were assembled in council, Marduk wore the destiny tablets on his breast.

ENMEDURANKI'S TABLET OF THE MYSTERIES OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

The tablets of judgment are furthermore mentioned in the primitive mythology of the Babylonians. We read in a text discovered in Assurbanipal's library (published in the original, transcribed, and translated by Schrader) the following passage which mentions a tablet of judgment worn by the high priest and used for divination. The text reads:

"Enme-duranki, King of Shippar, the favorite of Anu, Bel, and Ea, Shamash with Ebabbara.... Shamash and

Ramman (Adad²⁸) in communication [called (?) him]. Shamash and Ramman (Adad).... Shamash and Ramman (Adad) on a golden throne.... To inspect oil upon water.... the secrets of Anu, [of Bel, and of Ea], the tablet of the gods, the tablets of spells(?)²⁹ of the mysteries of heaven [and earth], the staff of cedar, the favorite of the great gods, they ga[ve into his hand]. He himself, however, when he had rec[eived these things taught them to his] son.... Shippar.... Babylon.... Sacrifices he offered and he made them abundant.... To inspect oil upon water, the secrets of Anu, of Bel and [of Ea], the tablet of the gods, the tablet of spells(?), of the mysteries of heaven and earth, the staff of cedar, the favorite of the gods, gave he into his hand. The tablet of the gods, the tablet of spells(?), of the mysteries of heaven and earth, to inspect the oil upon water, the mysteries of Anu, of Bel and Ea, the spells(?) 'When Anu, and Bel, etc.'³⁰ and '....' they had command of. The sage, the initiated one, he who is in possession of the mysteries of the great gods, makes his son³¹ whom he loves swear upon the tablet before Shamash and Ramman (Adad) and makes him learn 'When the Soothsayer'; he who is conversant with the oil, who also is of ancient family, is a descendant of Enmeduranki, the King of Shippar, who puts up the holy tablet of spells(?) and lifts the staff of cedar.... King.... Shamash.... a creature of Nin-kharsag³² of priestly tribe, of pure origin, himself perfect in stature and all measures of his body, is allowed to approach before Shamash and Ramman (Adad), the place of divination and of oracles.

²⁸ Ramman is the thunder-god; he is also called "Adad."

²⁹ Schrader's word *omen* is here translated "spell."

³⁰ The words in quotation marks are the beginning of a spell (or as Schrader translates, of an omen) the recitation of which exercises magic power.

³¹ All priests are presumably regarded as the sons of Enmeduranki.

³² Nin-kharsag, "Mistress of the Mount," is one of the names of the great goddess Belit, the wife of Bel.

The son of a soothsayer, however, who is not of pure origin, or imperfect in stature or measures of limbs, who is stare-eyed,³³ who has broken teeth, a mutilated finger, deficient in manhood, suffering from diseases of the skin, such a one is not allowed to observe the decisions of Shamash and Ramman (Adad), nor to approach the oracle of the service of divination. A secret verdict they do not reveal to him. Into the hand of such a one they [do not give] the staff of cedar, the favorite of the great gods."

Enme-duranki is called a king of Shippar, and he corresponds to Henoah of the Bible. Like the latter he is obviously a mythological, not a historical, person. Henoah lived 365 years and was the revealer of the secrets of the heavens.

The name Enme-duranki is explained by Schrader to mean, *Enme*, "the high priest," and *duranki* "of the place where heaven and earth meet," but it may be more correct to say, "the high priest of the earth and heaven secret." It is obviously not a name but a designation of his office. He is the high priest in possession of the mysteries of heaven and earth.

The name of Shippar is connected with the idea of written revelation for Shippar is derived from *Shipru*, which means a message, a writing, or a book, and corresponds to the Hebrew *Sepher*.³⁴ The Greek translation of Shippar is *Pantabiblia*,³⁵ which may be translated by "book of the All."

THE CHINESE SYSTEM OF DIVINATION.

We have restricted our enquiry into the nature of the ancient Hebrew oracle to the materials furnished by the Old Testament and the cuneiform inscriptions of Assyria

³³ i. e., squinting.

³⁴ ספר

³⁵ πανταβιβλια.

with their references to Sumerian traditions. But we hope to throw more light on them by a comparison with the Chinese system of divination which at any rate has helped us to form a clearer and more definite conception of the Urim and Thummim. It must be of very ancient origin, and may in its rudiment have been imported into China by the primitive settlers of the Yang-tze-Kiang Valley from their former homes in Eastern Asia, perhaps from Sumer, or some country affected by Sumerian civilization.



FUH HI.

The Chinese too have a tablet of the mysteries of heaven and earth. They too have certain symbols, called in Chinese Yang and Yin, corresponding to the Urim and Thummim, and they too have oracles in which they attain similar results as in ancient Israel. We know that Fuh Hi, the mythical founder of Chinese civilization, carries in his hands a tablet inscribed with some mystic combination of Yang and Yin symbols, corresponding to the tablet of destiny. This tablet has gradually been worked out into a more complicated system of cosmic significance, and on

the very start of its further development we find the number twelve playing an analogously prominent part to that of the breastplate of the high priest in Jerusalem, only that the number twelve preserves a more primitive and wider range of interpretation.

A comparison of the Yang and Yin with the Urim and Thummim corroborates in my opinion the hypothesis that they must have been two sets of symbols forming a contrast of opposites. They may have been painted, the Urim white, and the Thummim black. That the Urim were of bright color is indicated by their name, "the shining ones," while the meaning of the Thummim by contrast must have been "the dark ones."

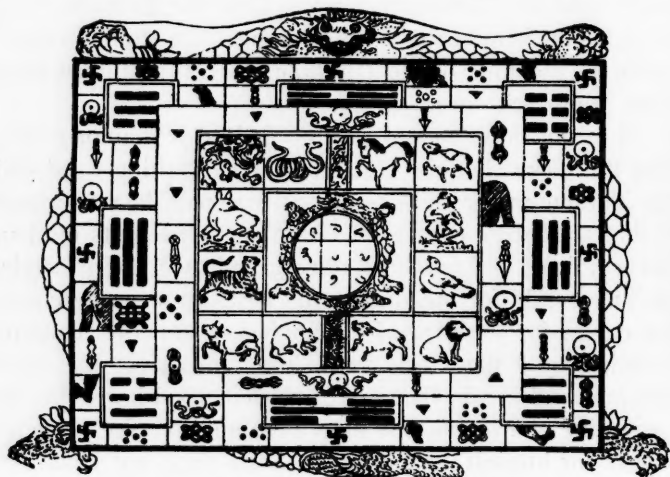
It is not necessary to assume, indeed it is improbable, that the Urim should have stood for everything good and the Thummim for things evil; all we may dare to assert is that they were contrasts. As Yang represents motion, heaven, light, odd numbers, unrest, and the male principle, so Yin stands for steadiness and rest, for even numbers, for earth, for darkness, for completion, and the feminine principle, and the Urim and Thummim reflect the same contrast and are in themselves neither good nor evil. In consulting the oracle one may have one's choice, as Saul selects for himself Thummim (1 Sam. xiv), not Urim.

The Yang and Yin are two sets of symbols which since the invention of the brush are represented as straight (—) and broken (--) lines, but in ancient times they were pictured as white (○) and black (●) disks, and the latter mode of representation indicates that the diviners may originally have employed bright and dark balls as pebbles.

In the Chinese system of divination there is used for the determination of the Yang and Yin a method of selecting them through a manipulation of sacred sticks, called the divination stalks, made of millet stems, which plant for this reason is deemed sacred, and is still grown upon the

tomb of Confucius. Though this method was already employed as early as in the days of Confucius who regards it as a hoary institution, it may be of a later date than the immigration of the first Chinese settlers, and yet we find in the Bible as well as in ancient Arabic folklore the use of arrows mentioned for a similar purpose.

Among the other instruments used in China for divination is a tablet which in more than one respect bears a resemblance to the table of Enmeduranki, the table of



THE TABLET ON THE TORTOISE.

judgment on the breast of Kingu and of Marduk and also to the breastplate of the Hebrew high priest; and this table, which is mentioned in the most ancient documents, contains a systematic mode of grouping the symbols of Heaven and Earth, called Yang and Yin. It is attributed to Fuh Hi, the founder of Chinese civilization.

The tablet in the hands of Fuh Hi represents the world. The several combinations of Yang and Yin stand for the four quarters with their four intermediary directions. In

its more complicated form as the tablet on the divination tortoise it shows also the duodenary cycle of the twelve mansions pictured in the twelve animals. They stand for everything that has a twelvefold relation, the twelve months, the twelve double hours, and generally a division



LO-PAN OR NET TABLET.

The original is in the possession of Prof. Fr. Hirth.

into twelve of the whole cosmic constitution. The tablet on the tortoise has finally been developed into an elaborate disk of symbols called the "Lo-pan" or "Net Tablet," because it has the appearance of a net, or rather a spider's

web. It is still used by the geomancers of China for divination.³⁶

The Chinese claim that the system of the Yih (this theory of mutations among the Yang and Yin, the positive and negative principles, also called: the former, heaven, the latter, earth) contains the secret of the universe. In the beginning there was the absolute, the Tai Chih (mostly translated the Grand Limit, which means the ultimate foundation of all things) and creation begins by a differentiation of it into Yang and Yin, the former becoming heaven, the latter earth. All things that exist are but mixtures of the two, and all events that happen are due to their peculiar combinations, and so the Yih contains the quintessence of all wisdom and the key to all the mysteries of heaven and earth. The same claim is made in Babylon. There too it is firmly believed that all the sciences and all possible knowledge had been revealed in the beginning. Berosus tells us that Oannes (a form of the god Ea) had risen in the shape of a fish-man from the Erythræan sea; he dwelt among men teaching them all the arts and sciences during daytime, and, as the sun nightly sets, went down every evening in the western sea. It can only have been the gist of this same knowledge that was contained in Enmeduranki's tablet of spells, or of divination, the tablet of the mysteries of heaven and earth.

It is not impossible that the contrast of heaven and earth is as much implied by the Urim and Thummim as it is in the Chinese Yang and Yin, and if that be so the first verse of Genesis, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth," may originally have possessed a philosophical meaning which in time has been obliterated.

The wisdom that centered in the symbols of Yang and Yin has been incorporated in a book which is called *Yih*

³⁶ For further details of the Chinese method of divination see the author's pamphlet *Chinese Philosophy*, and his more extensive work *Chinese Thought* (Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.).

King, i. e., "the Book of Changes," and this book of changes contains definite answers which according to the composition of Yang and Yin elements, selected with reference to definite rules, gives definite answers to definite questions.

That a connection must have existed in primitive days between China and Babylon is well assured through other coincidences, such as the similarities of the most primitive script in both countries, in the arrangement of their calendars, their sexagenary numerical system, and also in some mythological and religious notions.

While our comparison of Chinese methods with the ancient Semitic oracle may give no light as to details, it is helpful to form an opinion as to the general nature of the Urim and Thummim, which in bygone ages played a part among the Israelites, corresponding to that still played by the Yang and Yin in China.

CONCLUSION.

All divination of primitive mankind is based upon the supposition that the world is regulated by law and that all existence forms a system that can be represented in symbols. The symbols possess a definite meaning and are arranged according to prescribed rules, the intention being to imitate in them the actual course of events. Having produced conditions in the symbols corresponding to the situation of the problem in question, the theory of divination assumes that the result will in either case be the same, and the soothsayer is assumed to be able to foretell the future.

Accordingly the nature of the tablet of Enme-duranki can only have been a system of symbols somehow representing the universe, and it is more than probable that the twelve signs of the zodiac played a prominent part in it.

For many reasons twelve was a sacred number and so it was but natural that this feature of the ancient tablet of destiny has been preserved in the breastplate of judgment worn by the high priest of Jerusalem, but in conformity with the general tendency of Judaism the cosmic significance of the twelve gems was replaced by a narrow nationalistic interpretation.

We will conclude with a comment of a general application, which, however, in our opinion will be helpful to folklorists who make a specialty of games. Not only all divination of primitive man is based upon cosmic considerations, but the ancient plays and games are also derived from the same source. Originally the games of children are acts of divination in which they try how they will fare in life. In their origin games are not mere pastime but either practicing or imitating religious ceremonies. An investigation into the nature of old games that have been handed down to us from prehistoric ages will most likely prove all of them to be schemes that symbolically represent the universe in which the player tries his luck and consults fate as to the outcome either of a definite enterprise or of his life in general.

EDITOR.

THE MOSAIC NAMES OF GOD, AND WHAT THEY DENOTE..

METHOD OF TRANSCRIPTION.

In transcribing ancient Hebrew and its more recent vowels as accurately as possible into English letters and sounds for those who know the latter only, the following facts had better be stated:

1. The 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet are all consonants, none of them vowels, not even the letter A, which is voweled with any Hebrew vowel as needed. The evidence which I adduce of this fact is, that there is no word in the Hebrew consisting of but one letter, because if there were one it would have had to be a vowel.

2. The earliest record of a system of vowelizing and correct reading of the Scripture was made in Babylon in the first half of the sixth century A. D. The evidence of this is, that not an intimation of a name, or character of a vowel is to be found in the vast literature of either the Jerusalem or the Babylonian Talmuds. There is reference there to certain points which are traditionally obligatory to be put over the letters of a certain few words in the books of Moses which are written for ritual reading, but not for articulating purposes. What they really are for no one can tell us. But very ancient these point are, for they are attempted to be accounted for in the Siphri, a commentary to Numbers, which antedates all the Talmuds. (See § 69 to Num. ix. 9, 10.) The publication of the Talmuds in the written form was not done earlier than the sixth century, and perhaps not earlier than the seventh.

3. The six letters of the Hebrew alphabet, B, G (hard), D, K, P, T, which are mutes, (because, as Max Müller aptly said, you can not sing with them) can not close a syllable or a word. The reason is that the organ with which either of these is pronounced must first be closed and then suddenly opened, hence to pronounce another following consonant next to it, the closing and opening would have to be repeated, and fluency of speech and the ease of hearing would be hindered. These six mutes are therefore capable of being aspirated, i. e., pronounced with their respective organ of speech somewhat opened, so that the breath is allowed to pass through the organ. We shall use the small *h* in connection with the respective capital letter to denote this aspiration, and shall give the corresponding sound in our transcribed letter of the Hebrew alphabet.

4. The Hebrew has a few letters of double sound, but expressed with one letter. However, in transcribing them, we shall use the English capital letters doubled.

5. Avoiding refined niceties we shall transcribe Hebrew vowels in the following English vowel values: *a*, as in "far"; *o*, as in "not"; *ai*, as in "main"; *i*, as in "pin"; *ee*, as in "keen"; *e*, as in "get"; *ou*, as in "house"; and *oo*, as in "poor."

6. The Hebrew writes and reads from right to left, but in transcribing we shall write and read from left to right and place the vowels after capital consonants in small letters at the top.

7. The initial letter of the name of a Hebrew letter indicates its sound thus:

HEBREW FORM	NAME	ENGLISH TRANSCRIPTION	ENGLISH SOUND	REMARKS
א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת	Aleph	A	(See 1.)	It may sound like any vowel in 5.
	Baith	B	B	
	Vaith	Bh	V	One of the aspirable letters.
	Ghimel	G	G	Hard.
	Ghimel	G	G	Like <i>g</i> in the German <i>Tag</i> , which becomes our <i>y</i> in "day."
ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת	Daleth	D	D	The aspirations of <i>ד</i> and <i>ת</i> are not minded.
	Dhaleth	D	D	Should sound like "th" in "with."
	Hai	H	H	
	Vov	V	V	Ancient Greek Digamma = 2 Gammas, <i>F</i> , one above the other, $2 \times 3 = 6$, the 6th in the Alphabet.
י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת	Zain	Z	Z	Just the English, not the German <i>z</i> .
	HHeth	HH	HH	The nearest existing English sound to represent this letter with.
ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת	Teth	TT	TT	The sound of this T is never changed.
	Yod	I	Y	Consonant as in "Yes."
	Kaph	K	K	This K can be aspirated,
	Khaph	Kh	Kh	as in "Kherson" a Russian town. At the end of a word its shape is <i>ך</i> in modern Hebrew.
ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת	Lamed	L	L	
	Mem	M	M	At the end of a word its shape is <i>ם</i> in modern Hebrew.
	Noon	N	N	At the end of a word its shape is <i>ן</i> .
	Samakh	S	S	This S sound is never changed.
	GHayen	GH	GH	A palatal and guttural sound combined.
	Peh	P	P	This letter can be aspirated as in <i>פ</i> .
	Ph	Ph	Ph	At the end of a word the shape is <i>ף</i> .
ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ צ ק ר ש ת	TSadik	TS	TS	Like German <i>z</i> , not like English <i>z</i> . At the end of a word the shape is <i>צ</i> .
	Kooph	Q	Q	This Q sound never changes.
	Raish	R	R	
	Shin	Sh	Sh	
	Sin	SS	SS	
	Tav	T	T	
	Thav	Th	Th	Like in "with."

BY birth, education, and religious conviction I was and am deeply interested in the destiny of the Jewish nation. The strange phenomenon, therefore, that the

Christ and Christianity, which are so undeniably of Jewish origin, should yet have been and are generally rejected by the Jews, engaged my attention ever since I recognized in Jesus of Nazareth Him of whom Moses and the prophets and Psalms so often speak. What was the efficient cause of that intense Jewish ecclesiastical animosity against Him whom Christians regard, and therefore worship, as the incarnate Son of God? Such a tremendous national event as the cruel crucifixion of the innocent Christ has proved itself to have been, could not have taken place without a previous preparation. Why then did the Jewish authorities cause the crucifixion of our Lord Jesus by the Roman authorities? Events of such moment in history are pragmatic and not accidental. But was not this event in fulfilment of prophecy? Yes, but the X-rays with which prophecy penetrated the then thick veil of future ages, and photographically faithfully described that horrible, and world-changing event of the crucifixion would yet not have done so if it were not to take place. Prophecy, though it is anterior, is yet a consequence and not a cause of the event it describes. The prophecies of the fifty-second and fifty-third chapter of Isaiah were not the cause but the consequence of the unjust trial, condemnation, crucifixion and burial of Jesus the Christ of Jehovah, the God of Israel.

What then was the cause of that ecclesiastical rage against him? Some assume it was the new paths in the ritualistic practices which Jesus struck out, for instance in the observance of the Sabbath and in the washing of hands before meals. But at the time of Christ these were not as yet established laws, but rather matters of dispute among the differing rabbinical schools. And even if they had been then established laws, they would have been too inadequate in their breach to be the cause of the Jewish authorities bringing Jesus to the cross, and to have secured

his death by the Roman governor at the humiliating acknowledgment of having no king but Cæsar, thus going back on their pride of ages, which they expressed in their numerous daily benedictions that Jehovah was their God, their Father and their King.

The doctrine of the divine Sonship of the Christ was at the time of our Lord Jesus either not entertained at all by the Jewish ecclesiastical authorities, or it was relegated to the esoteric teachings of divine mysticism, the H^aN-NⁱST^o R^{ou}TH,¹ "hidden things" of Deut. xxix. 28, and which are alluded to in Jewish post-Biblical literature, and some of which have come to us by the name of the Kabalah. So entirely was the doctrine of the divine sonship of the human Christ repressed from the public teachings of those times, that the books of Ezekiel and Daniel in which a human being is represented in the one as the leading power in the throne of God, and as a Son of God in the other, were designed by the ecclesiastical authorities to be put out of the canon, and relegated among those books that were to be "concealed" from the public, the GNV^{oo}SiM,² from which word we have the translated word "Apocrypha," and to which *we* attach the additional meaning of "ungenuine."

But some ideas about the divine sonship of the Christ must have been entertained by the people. This is evident from what Matthew relates in his Gospel, xxii. 42-46. On one occasion when he met a number of Pharisees, Jesus asked them what they thought about the Christ as to whose Son He was. They promptly answered "David's." Then Jesus cited to them in refutation of their reply, the 110th Psalm, the title of which LD^oVⁱD³ = By David, denotes that David was the author of it. There David says, that Jehovah (for whose name the Jews substitute the word A^aDouNoI)⁴ said unto my Lord A^aDouNeeI,⁵ "sit thou at

¹ בְּסֵתֶרֶת

² גִּנְזֵיִם

³ לַדָּוִד

⁴ אֲדֹנָי

⁵ אֲדֹנָי

my right hand until I put thine enemies as a footstool under thy feet." How then, asked Jesus, can he, the Christ, who was admitted by the Jews to be meant by that word A^aDouNeeI, i. e., "my Lord,"—how then can He, the Christ, be the son of David, if David calls Him "my Lord"? For there was no question that it would be an indignity to a father to call his own son "my Lord." Then Matthew relates that the Pharisees were completely silenced, and dared not ask Him any more questions. They must have felt that Jesus struck the most vital point in dispute between them, viz., the divinity of the Christ. And in the passage which our Lord Jesus quoted, the difference there between Him and the Pharisees turned about the pronunciation of the word spelled ADNI,⁶ which they pronounced A^aDouNeeI,⁷ meaning "my Lord," while he must have meant it to be pronounced A^oDouNoI,⁸ meaning "Milord," which word with this pronunciation is applied in the second Psalm to the Son of Jehovah.

For those who are not familiar with the Hebrew language, the important point made here by me will not be readily understood. To such, however, I would propound the question: How did our Lord Jesus Himself answer the question, which He proposed to the Jews? There can be no denial, that the Divine Sonship of the Christ was the vital point of the controversy between our Lord Jesus and His opponents, the Scribes, the Pharisees, and the Sadducees. We see this in the gratification of our Lord at Peter's confession (Matt. xvi. 16), "Thou art *the* Christ, *the* Son (not *a* Son) of the living God!" Then the Lord's declaration: "Blessed art thou Simon bar Jona, because flesh and blood has not revealed unto thee, but my Father who is in the Heavens. Moreover I say unto thee, that thou art Peter, but on this stone, ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ, (not ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πέτρῳ) I will build my congregation." Put-

⁶ אֲדֹנָי⁷ אֲדֹנָי⁸ מֵלֵךְ

ting this in the Palestinian dialect of that time, it would have this paranomesia: P^eTR^o A^aNT V^eGH^aL A^aBh-N^oA D^eD^oA A^eBhN^eH KN^eSeeI^oH SH^eL^eeI.⁹ We see it also in the "grand adjuration," the HH^eR^eM H^aGG^oD-V^{ou}L^o of the high priest at the trial (Matt. xxvi. 63), "Art thou the Christ, the Son of God?" then our Lord's reply, "Thou hast said." Then declaring the amazing doctrine of the Incarnation he said: "Moreover (L^eBh^aD)" I tell you, [addressing the whole council] from now on ye shall see the *Son of man*" [i. e., the Christ as the Incarnation of the Son of God] sitting at the right hand of the Power," L^eIM^{ee}IN H^aGGBh^{oo}R^oH etc.¹² This the high priest declared as blasphemy, which it would be if there were no Son of God, or better say *in* God, and no incarnation of that Son in a human form, B^eN A^oD^oM.¹³ But neither was this fatal blindness of the Jewish Rabbis and ecclesiastical authorities without an adequate antecedent cause. What was it? It may be put as a proposition to all I intend to say in this paper, that the monotheism maintained in Judaism from post-Biblical times on to this our own day, is not the monotheism of the Jewish "sacred books," KⁱTHBh^{ai} KV^{ou}D^eSH.¹⁴

What then do these books teach about God? I answer, we can learn this from the names of God found in these books, in connection with other things which they say of God. Names in Hebrew are not arbitrary, meaningless, but there is much in a Hebrew name, for it denotes the character, or some event that happened, or some quality that it is desired to express in the person bearing the name. Hence the names of God which the author of any Old Testament book makes use of, give us legitimately a clue as to what that writer holds about God.

I have gone systematically through the books of Moses

⁹ פִּיטְרָא אֱנִת וְשֵׁל אֱבָנָא דְרָא אֱבָנָה דְגִסְתָּה שְׁלִי: ¹⁰ הָרָם בְּהָרֹד ¹¹ (דְּבָר) ¹² לִי מִיָּן בְּבִכּוּרָה ¹³ בֶּן אָדָם ¹⁴ בְּחֵבֵי קוֹדֶשׁ

and of Joshua, and the other books of the Old Testament in order to find out what their authors say of God. But on the present occasion time will not permit to review every passage in detail, and I must satisfy myself to call attention to the most salient points.

It will not be denied successfully, that the Hebrew language existed prior to the advent of Moses. Julius Fürst in his *ZiKhRouVNouVTH LShouVN QouDeSh*¹⁵ = "Memoirs of the holy tongue" appended to his concordance of the Old Testament, dates the Hebrew language to the time of *GH^eBh^eR*,¹⁶ (Eber, Gen. x. 21, 24, 25,) the grandson of Shem. And this agrees well with the national name "Hebrew," *GHⁱBhR^{ee}I*.¹⁷ At any rate Moses was not the inventor of the Hebrew language. Yet it will not be denied that he must have had a decided influence on the culture of that language during the latter part of his active life. Or, take even the lowest view of the lowest self-styled "high critics" of modern times, and assume that Moses is a mythical person, and that the books reputed as his work were the composition of some Exilic, or post-Exilic prophet, priest, fanatic, or erratic, and it will not be successfully denied, that whoever the author, compiler, or conglomerator be, he must have had an influence on the culture of the Hebrew language by virtue of that composition. And if so, then the question arises, how came he to use the name of God *A^eLouH^{ee}IM*¹⁸ in the plural, "Gods," and with verbs in the singular number with but few exceptions? Whoever and whenever the books of Moses originated, he or they always used, for there always were, names of God in the singular number that could have been equally as well used as the plural *A^eLouH^{ee}IM*. This plural is evidently formed from the singular *A^eLouVH^a*;¹⁹ and it would be begging the question to say that this *A^eLouVH^a* belongs to a later Hebrew,

¹⁵ זכרונות לשון קדש¹⁶ עבר¹⁷ עברי¹⁸ אלהים¹⁹ אלהים

for surely the plural of a noun would never originate before its singular form. Nor can the plural $A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM^{20}$ be derived from the monosyllabic A^eL ,²¹ for its plural is $A^{ai}L^{ee}IM$,²² from which is derived the derisive $A^eL^{ee}IL^{ee}IM$,²³ i. e., "false gods, idols." The H, therefore, in $A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM$ ²⁴ is evidence enough that the singular $A^eL^{ou}VH^{a25}$ is a most primitive Hebrew word for the name of God.

In passing let me call attention to a remarkable cautiousness against error in the spelling of this word $A^eL^{ou}VH^a$. In the fifty-six times that this name occurs in the Old Testament it is always, except twice, (viz. Deut. xxxii, 17, $I^ZBH^{oo}LaShai^{Dec}IM^{Lou}A^eL^{ou}H^a$,²⁶ "They sacrifice to Devils, not a God," and Daniel xi. 38, $VL^eA^eL^{ou}H^aMoGHV^{oo}Z^{ee}IM^{GH^a}L^{KaNV^{ou}}IKHaBai^{D27}$ = "And the God of Fortresses he will honor on his pedestal") spelled with a Vov, while in the many hundred times of the plural $A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM$ ²⁸ derived from this $A^eL^{ou}VH^a$ ²⁹ in the singular there is not a single instance of its being spelled with a Vov. Why? Because when spelled $A^eL^{ou}H^a$ ³⁰ the Hai ³¹ might have been taken, before the Hebrew vowel points were invented, as the feminine formative Hai ,³² with an o ³³ sound preceding it, from the masculine A^eL ,³⁴ and thus a goddess, an A^eL^oH ,³⁵ might have been thought to exist in the Hebrew faith. To prevent this possible error the spelling with a Vov³⁶ was introduced, and the word is spelled in what is grammatically called the *plene* form. The plural $A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM$ ³⁷ can not therefore be derived from A^eL ³⁸ directly, but from $A^eL^{ou}H^a$ ³⁹ indirectly. Why then did the author, authors, redactors, conglomerator or conglomerators of the Mosaic books use the plural but not the singular for the name of God, and

20 אֱלֹהִים 21 אֵל 22 אֱלִים 23 אֱלִילִים 24 אֱלֹהִים 25 אֱלֹהִים
26 וַיִּזְבְּחוּ לַאֲשֵׁי־לֹא אֱלֹהִים 27 וְהָאֱלֹהִים מְשֻׁחִים עַל כְּנָסֵי יִבְבָּר 28 אֱלֹהִים 29 אֱלֹהִים
30 אֱלֹהִים 31 הַי 32 הַי 33 הַי 34 אֵל 35 אֱלֹהִים 36 ו
37 אֱלֹהִים 38 אֵל 39 אֱלֹהִים

with this plural, verbs in the singular? And this we find in the very first three words of the Mosaic Scriptures. "In [or 'at'] the [or 'a'] beginning Gods *He* created," not "they created"? Can such a glaring error, as a noun and its verb *not* agreeing in number be unintentional? For whatever else may not agree in this disagreeing world, a verb must agree with its noun in number and gender. Can this be a mere *usus loquendi*? Can this be without an adequate reason? Especially when in a few instances this same plural noun AeLouHeeIM⁴⁰ is used with verbs in the plural? It would seem that nothing but preconceived notions can assume this in order to make it tally with these ideas. One of these is the notion that Moses or the Mosaic books teach an absolute, mathematical one-Godism, which is but a mere notion and not a truth. What this intentional, ungrammatical use of the plural noun AeLouHeeIM = Gods, with verbs in the singular number, can and certainly does teach is this, that God, or Deity, is not an absolute mathematical unit, but such a plural unity that a verb in the singular can be used with his plural name AeLouHeeIM = Gods. And in this sense it is a Hebrew *usus loquendi*. There are some Hebrew nouns used exclusively in the plural form, some of which are used with verbs in the singular, while others of the same kind are used with verbs in the plural only: HH^aI-IeeIM⁴¹ = "lives" = "life," is always used with plural verbs, except perhaps once, in Ps. lxiv. 2, MiPaHH^aD AouVI^aiBh TiTSouR HH^aII^oI,⁴² "from the fear of the enemy Thou wilt preserve my life," if TTSR⁴³ should be voweled rather TaiT^aSaR⁴⁴ from IoTSouR⁴⁵ = "to distress," and not from NoTSouR⁴⁶ = "to preserve," which is in better parallelism, with PaHH^aD⁴⁷ = "fear." Sho-MaIM⁴⁸ = "heavens" is always in the plural. MaI^{ee}M⁴⁹

⁴⁰ אֱלֹהִים⁴¹ חַיִּים⁴² מִפְּחַד אֹיֵב הַצָּר חָיִי⁴³ הַצָּר⁴⁴ הַצָּר⁴⁵ יָצַר⁴⁶ יָצַר⁴⁷ פֶּחַד⁴⁸ שָׁמַיִם⁴⁹ מַיִם

= "waters" is always with a plural verb except eight times of the four hundred and forty-six times that the word occurs in the Old Testament, where it occurs with other verbs in the singular number. R^aH^HM^{ee}IM⁵⁰ = "mercies" = "mercy," is so far as I can find always with verbs in the plural number. SR^oPh^{ee}IM⁵¹ and TR^oPh^{ee}IM⁵² are always with plural verbs. Most pertinent to the subject under consideration is the special plural or dual proper name MⁱTSR^aIⁱM.⁵³

This name of the land, in the dual form because it appertains to upper and lower Egypt, is also used to denote the inhabitants of Egypt who otherwise are spoken of as MⁱTSR^{ee}IM⁵⁴ = "Egyptians," and in the singular MⁱTSR^{ee}I⁵⁵ = Egyptian. The dual plural proper name MⁱTSR^aIⁱM when applied to the inhabitants of Egypt is used both with verbs in the plural and singular number. Thus Gen. xlv. 2, "And he put forth his voice, and they, MⁱTSR^aIⁱM (Egyptians), heard it." Gen. xlvii, "And all MⁱTSR^aIⁱM (Egyptians) came to Joseph." Ex. i. 13, "And Egyptians (MⁱTSR^aIⁱM) lamented [for] him." Ex. iii. 9, "The oppression which Egyptians (MⁱTSR^aIⁱM) oppress them." Ex. vi. 5, "...the groanings of the Bne Israel, whom Egyptians (MⁱTSR^aIⁱM) enslave." Ex. vii. 5, "And MⁱTSR^aIⁱM (Egyptians) shall know." In all these passages MⁱTSR^aIⁱM might have been voweled MⁱTSRⁱM,⁵⁶ and the agreement of the plural noun with the plural verb would have been perfectly correct. But we have again Ex. xiv. 10, "...and behold MⁱTSR^aIⁱM (Egyptians) N^{ou}SaiGH^a 57 = *he* travels after them." Again Ex. xiv. 25, "And MⁱTSR^aIⁱM (Egyptians) *he* said (VaIIA^{ou}MeR)⁵⁸ A^oNV^{oo}So 59 = *I* will flee before etc." Here the common version is very wrong in rendering A^oNV^{oo}SoH in the plural, "Let us flee," following as usual the

⁵⁰ מַחֲמִים⁵¹ שָׂרָפִים⁵² תְּרָפִים⁵³ מִצְרַיִם⁵⁴ מִצְרַיִם⁵⁵ מִצְרִי⁵⁶ מִצְרַיִם⁵⁷ נָסַע⁵⁸ וַיֹּאמֶר⁵⁹ אֲנִי הֵנִי

LXX which have here φύγωμεν. This is one of those numerous instances where this version professes to be a "translation from the original" and is not so, but a second-hand translation from a prejudiced translation. Again Jer. xlv. 8, MⁱTSR^aIⁱM (Egyptians) K^aIA^oR IaGH^aL^eH,⁶⁰ "he shall go up like a river." Here the people might be called by the name of the land, were it not that MⁱTSR^aIⁱM⁶¹ is feminine, as e. g. in Joel iv. 19, "MⁱTSR^aIⁱM⁶² she shall be waste," while IaGH^aL^eH⁶³ above is masculine. Again Ps. cv. 38, "MⁱTSR^aIⁱM SS^oMaHH⁶⁴ (Egyptians) he was glad when they went."

Now in all *these* places vowel point instead of MⁱTSR^aIⁱM, Egyptians in the dual number, MⁱTSRⁱM,⁶⁵ Egyptians in the plural number, and the disagreement between plural nouns with singular verbs becomes grossly apparent. Yet it is done because the word MⁱTSR^aIⁱM in the dual plural stands for the collection of the plural persons of the nation Egypt, who can logically and linguistically be regarded as one person and therefore be spoken of in connection of verbs in the singular number. And just so the case may be with the word AeLouHeeIM⁶⁶ although it is an indubitable plural, yet because the persons of this plural have an intimate bond of union they can logically and linguistically be spoken of in connection with verbs in the singular number.

If now what I have said up to this point be true, and I think it is, then the old contention between the non-Christian and the Christian Jew must therefore be not merely whether AeLouHeeIM is, or is not, a *pluralis excellentiae*, a sort of an editorial "wegotism," nor why it is used with verbs in the plural number in comparatively few places, but the contention must be as to why this plural word AeLouHeeIM is used in hundreds of places with verbs in

⁶⁰ מִצְרַיִם כִּי־אֵרָגֵל⁶¹ מִצְרַיִם⁶² שְׁמָהּ הָיְתָה⁶³ יִצְחָק⁶⁴ מִצְרַיִם שְׂמָחָה⁶⁵ מִצְרַיִם⁶⁶ אֱלֹהִים

the singular? The un-Christian Jew, whether orthodox or heterodox, cannot explain this on any grammatical or rhetorical grounds. The truth that A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM is a plural of abstraction will not help the question, for a plural of abstraction would not be used if the object from which the abstraction is made were not a plurality.

At this point I want to ask my attentive readers what bearing think ye, has *my* contention on the very confidently talked-of theory of an Elohist redactor of some portions of the, at least reputed, writings of Moses? What might have been his trend and bent of mind? And may not the very much denied Moses have been himself that Elohist, who wanted to teach the unity of persons in the plurality of the Godhead? We shall see about this further on.

What I wish to touch upon next is the equally confidently talked-of Jehovistic redactor of some parts of the at least reputed writings of Moses. There can be no doubt, according to my showing above, that the intention of Moses or of the hypothetical pious fraud of a redactor of his reputed writings, was to teach a plurality in the unity of Deity. What monotheism then did the true, or pseudo, Moses teach? An unprejudiced reader of the Mosaic writings, one for instance who would come down from the moon, or perhaps more likely from Mars, such a one would certainly come to the conclusion that the writings teach a mono-Jehovism. The meaning of Deut. vi. 4, ShMa^gH I^sR^oA^eL I^eHV^eH A^eL^{ou}H^{ai}NV^{oo} I^eHV^eH A^eHH^oD⁶⁷ is, "Hear, O Israel, our Jehovah of Elohim (Gods, Deity) is one Jehovah," i. e., there are no two Jehovahs in Deity. And so too is the meaning in the BⁱL^{Ti}⁶⁸ = *absque* = "without," and BⁱLGH^oDaI⁶⁹ = *Sine* = "without" in connection with A^{ai}N A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM,⁷⁰

שְׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה
 בְּלֹתִי⁶⁸ בְּקִדְשִׁי⁶⁹ אֵין אֱלֹהִים⁷⁰

"without I^eHV^eH⁷¹ there is no Deity," not "besides" = *praeter*, so often met with in the Prophets.

In the first record of the creation, in Gen. i. 1 to ii. 4, the Creator is A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM = "Gods." Of these the record mentions one as the R^{oo}V^aHH A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM⁷² = "Spirit of Gods" (i. 2). In the creation of man this record says that "A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM (= Gods) He said: Let *us* make an A^oD^oM⁷³ in our own image, like our likeness." The word A^oD^oM⁷⁴ is evidently the masculine form from which the feminine A^aD^oM^oH⁷⁵ = "earth" is formed as a word, and is in the singular number. Then this record says: "And A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM⁷⁶ (= Gods) *He* created the Adam in His image, [i. e.] in the [one] image of A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM (= Gods) created He him: male and female created He them" (i. 26, 27). Adam's female's name was not derived from his name, but both the male and the female were spoken of in this record as A^oD^oM.⁷⁷ This is more distinctly stated in the record of v. 2, "Male and female created He them, and blessed them, and He called them Adam in the day of their being created." So we see here again, that a plurality of persons can be called by a name in the singular number, just as we have seen before in the case of the plural name A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM⁷⁸ being used with verbs in the singular number. Nevertheless the difficulty here of leaving the human female without a name, or with a masculine one is not as easily overcome as in the case of A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM, which has its analogy in the plural name MⁱTSR^aI^m,⁷⁹ being also construed with verbs in the singular. Moreover this linguistic difficulty is intimately connected with the theological difficulty, that this record implies that there is a female in the plural Godhead. And besides these linguistic and theological difficulties there is yet the greatest cosmic difficulty with this first record.

71 יהוה

72 רוח אלהים

73 אדם

74 אדם

75 אדמה

76 אלהים

77 אדם

78 אלהים

79 מעשרים

According to it everything in this world of ours is good and very good, yet we find in it toil, sorrow, pain, misery and death. Whence came all these? The deponent of this first record says not! However, our Elohist Moses solves for us all these difficulties with a supplementary record, which extends from Gen. ii. 4 to the end of chapter iii. And this supplementary record does *not* contradict the preceding one, but only supplements it.

[It is said by certain critics, that Gen. i. 11, 12, which speaks of vegetable production contradicts ii. 5, 6, which says that there was no vegetation at the creation. This contention is the result of a misconception, which in turn is the result of a mistranslation. Verses 5 and 6, of chapter ii, should be rendered thus: "The following are the events of the heavens and the earth at their being created, in the day of Jehovah of Elohim's making earth and heaven, and before any fine grass of the field had come to be in the earth, and before any herb of the field had sprouted, for Jehovah of Elohim had not yet caused to rain upon the earth, and an Adam there was none to work the soil, [i. e., by irrigation]. But a vapor would ascend from the earth, [i. e., from the places where there were moisture and water] and would cause all the face of the soil to drink it up." So this record is merely a further explanation of how vegetation came about after the dry land, the $I^aB^oSH^oH$,⁸⁰ appeared out of the waters, which gathered into one place. Another contradiction is claimed to exist between i. 20-25, which speaks of the creation of the land animals *before* the creation of man, and ii. 19 where it says that animals were created *after* man was created. This contention is simply a piece of ignorance; the $V^aI^iTS^eR$ ⁸¹ of the latter verse does not mean at all "and He created" but "and He gathered," from TS^oR^ouR ⁸² = "to gather," hence $V^aI^iTS^eR$ ⁸³ with one Iod, and not like $V^aII^iTS^eR$ ⁸⁴

⁸⁰ יֶשֶׁה⁸¹ וַיִּצְרֵה⁸² צָרַר⁸³ וַיִּצְרֵה⁸⁴ וַיִּצְרֵה

in verse 7 with two Iods, where it *does* mean "He created," from I^oT^{ou}R⁸⁵ = "to create"].

The Deity who is brought to our reverent notice in this record as the actor of wonderful deeds is not A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM, but I^eHV^eH A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM,⁸⁶ and in subsequent scriptures this appellation becomes the most solemn one: The natural and logical meaning of the two words in the English language is "Jehovah of Gods," and so in Joshua xxii. 22 the tribes of Reuben, Gad and part of Manassah are recorded to have so understood it by their adjuration A^eL A^eL^{ou}-H^{ee}IM I^eHV^eH⁸⁷ = "God of Gods Jehovah"! The name I^eHV^eH is treated throughout the Old Testament Hebrew, (and this is all of the pure Hebrew we have,) as a proper name, for (a) it never has the definite article before it, and (b) it has never the pronominal suffixes attached to the end of it. Those two marks distinguish it from the divine names A^eL, A^eL^{ou}VH^a and A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM,⁸⁹ which are not proper, but appellative names. And inasmuch as the rule in Hebrew Old Testament onomastics is that a person bear and be named by only one name, therefore this double or counterpart must be regarded as being in the constructive genitive case, namely, Jehovah of Elohim, or Gods. But Jewish superstition—not Hebrew, for there is no superstition in the Hebrew Scriptures—Jewish superstition starting, most probably, with a laudable reverence for the name of Jehovah, ended with a total suppression of that name, of which the bearer of it said: "This is my name forever, and this is my memorial for generation and generation. (Ex. iii. 15.) Instead of I^eHV^eH the Jews say A^aD^{ou}N^oI.⁹⁰ And the Creator, whose is whatever is in the universe by virtue of His and only His creative power, is denied that power by a superstitious ignorance

⁸⁵ יצר⁸⁶ יהוה אלהים⁸⁷ אלהים יהוה⁸⁸ אלהים⁸⁹ אלהים⁹⁰ אדני

that calls Him by the title "Lord," which denotes mere *acquired* possession.

This degenerated reverence for the name of the Creating Father of all, together with a false monotheism, became perpetuated by the Jewish Greek translation of the Old Testament, the so-called Septuagint, where I^eVH^eH AeLouH^{ee}IM⁹¹ is rendered *Κύριος ὁ θεός*. And this Jewish traditional superstition has become and is the property of all Christendom! But this is not all. A similar superstitious tradition inherited by Christendom from post-Biblical Rabbinism, is the translation of A^aDouNoI I^eH-VeH⁹², which the Jews pronounce A^aDouNoI AeLouH^{ee}IM⁹³ and which Christians following them translate "Lord God," while the true meaning of it is: "Milord of Jehovah."

Let me give here the results of my studies as to the meaning of these sacred names. I have already given the inevitable meaning of AeLouH^{ee}IM as a plural.

The meaning of the sacred name I^eHV^eH, according to Mosaic narrative in Exodus iii, was not known till Moses, to whom Jehovah Himself explained it, although the personal Deity and the name was known before to the Hebrew patriarchs as far back as Seth and Enosh. The explanation came about in the following manner (verse 11): Moses said to *the* Deity H^oAeLouH^{ee}IM that spake to him from the burning thorn-bush: "Who am I that I should go to Pharaoh, and that I should bring forth the children of Israel from Egypt?" (verse 12.) And He (the Deity) said: "For I will come to be with thee, and this be for thee the sign that I have sent thee, when thou shalt have brought forth the people from Egypt ye shall worship *the* Deity AeTh H^oAeLouH^{ee}IM⁹⁴ by his mountain [otherwise an unlikely thing, for it, Horeb, is out of the road to Palestine]. (Verse 13) And Moses said to the

יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים

אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה

אֱלֹהֵי אֱלֹהִים

אֱת הַאֱלֹהִים

Deity H^oA^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM, "Behold I am coming to the children of Israel, and have said to them the Deity of your ancestors has sent me unto you, and they shall have said to me: 'What is His name?' What shall I say to them?" And Deity = A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM He said to Moses: "I will become that I will become." And He said: "This shalt thou say to the children of Israel: 'I shall become has sent me unto you.'" (15) And Deity moreover said to Moses: "Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: 'Jehovah of the Deity A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM of Abraham, of the Deity of Isaac, of the Deity of Jacob sent me unto you!' This is my name forever, and this is my memorial for generation and generation." The meaning, therefore, of I^eHV^eH is A^eHI^eH A^aSh^eR A^eHI^eH⁹⁵ = "I shall become that I shall become," not "I am that I am," for the Hebrew language has no word that corresponds to our verb "to be," and where it is needed it is simply implied and not expressed, and therefore you find it in your English Common Version in italics. And when you do find it there in common print (Roman) it must be rendered from the original Hebrew "to become," for pray tell me what comfort would it have brought to the toiling Hebrew slaves of Egypt to be told that "The I am" sent a message to them? They would have said there was no assurance in that name that He can or will do anything for *us*. And how different when the name of the message-sender is "I shall become that I shall become"! That means that he will become whatever they will need, their leader, their Redeemer, their defender, their provider. Or take an example of a later age of the Hebrew language as to the verb H^oI^oH⁹⁶ and its meaning. Take Isaiah lxvi. 1, 2: "Thus saith Jehovah, the heavens my throne and the earth footstool of my feet; which a house that ye would build for me? And where a place of my rest? And all these things my hand hath

⁹⁵ אֶהְיֶה אֲשֶׁר אֶהְיֶה יְהוָה

⁹⁶ בָּנֵה

made, and they all became; thus the oracles of Jehovah." Put instead of "became," "have been" as you have it in the common version, and the force of the argument is gone, for if all these *have been*, then he needed not to have made them. The verb H^oI^oH occurs about 3354 times in the Old Testament and of these only eighteen times in the passive NⁱHI^eH.⁹⁷ Take your English concordance and look for the word "become" in the Old Testament and except in Deut. xxvii. 9, where it is in Hebrew NⁱHI^eH, the Hebrew is H^oI^oH. I know that this idea about the Hebrew verb H^oI^oH is comparatively new. I grasped it, I think, a short time before Heinrich Ewald's grammar, seventh edition, came to my hands, and I was glad to have such an authority. (See also Dr. Ernst Meier, *Hebr. Wurzelwörterbuch*, s. v. H^oI^oH, p. 80: "Die Hebräer haben nicht einmal ein Wort was den Begriff des Seins streng ausdrückt.") And this is an immense truth, reaching far into the documents from which and in which we have our Christian faith. It makes one of the steps of the liberation of the study of the Hebrew language from the swaddling clothes in which Rabbi David Kimchi first swaddled it, and in which Rabbi Elijahoo Bahhur (Elias Levita) presented it to the reformers of the sixteenth century, and from which we have yet to be emancipated. It seems that the Hebrews who formed their language repudiated the idea that anything can exist *per se*, but all has to become, hence they had no need of a verb "to be." The sacred name I^eHV^eH means, therefore, "He shall Become," the second Iod in the third person fut. IⁱHI^eH becoming changed into the V^oV⁹⁸ of the infinitive H^o-V^{ou}H.⁹⁹ And notice that the name of Himself which He gives us and commands us to know and remember Him by implies that He does not give it to Himself but it is given by another than Himself, and does not mean "I

shall become," but "*He* shall become." And it implies that He was in all that humanly is called past, for He is to become in the human future, not merely to begin to be in that future, but become whatever the creatures He made will need Him to become.—Ah, my friends! This is the Sh^eM H^aMMPh^{ou}R^oSh,¹⁰⁰ the Tetragramaton, of which some people speak with ignorant awe and superstitious worship, while there is here a λογική λατρεία (Rom. xii. 1), a reasonable intelligent worship.

In this connection I must mention the objection which some critics make against the idea that the patriarchs before Moses knew at all of Jehovah because the record in Ex. vi. 3 says, "And I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac and unto Jacob by God Sh^aDai^I;¹⁰¹ but by my name I^eHV^eH I became not known to them." The objection rests on the word N^{ou}VDaGHTⁱ,¹⁰² which is in the passive form (Niphal) from the active (Kal) I^oDaGH.¹⁰³ But this passive form is here a reflexive. This is analogous to the passive and middle voices in the Greek language, whose grammatical structure is so much more elaborate than the Hebrew. Similar reflexives in the form of passives are the NⁱDB^aR¹⁰⁴ in Mal. iii. 16, Ezek. xxxiii. 30 and Ps. cxix. 23. So too are the passive participles R^aHHV^{oo}M and HH^aNV^{oo}N,¹⁰⁵ the last in Ex. xxii. 26, and both in xxxiv. 6, and often. Also the passive NⁱSh-BaGH,¹⁰⁶ invariably for "he swore," hence only reflexive, "he adjured himself."

A similar superstitious tradition which "makes the words of God of none effect" like the threefold false rendering of I^eHV^eH AeL^{ou}HeeIM with the words "Lord God," is the post-Biblical Rabbinical pronunciation of A^aD^{ou}N^oI I^eHV^eH with A^aD^{ou}N^oI AeL^{ou}HeeIM. This false pronunciation was inherited from the Jews by all

¹⁰⁰ שֵׁם הַמְּשִׁיחַ¹⁰¹ שְׁדַי¹⁰² נִדְבַחְתִּי¹⁰³ דָּבַחְתִּי¹⁰⁴ נִדְבַחְתִּי¹⁰⁵ חָנַן and נָחַם¹⁰⁶ נִשְׁבַּע

Christendom, and you perpetuate it by translating it "Lord God," while you should render it "Milord of Jehovah"!

The first instance where we meet with this compound name of God is in the theophany which Abram had, recorded in Gen. xv. 2. Jehovah said to him, "Fear not, Abram, I am thy shield, thy reward is very great," (SKh°RKh° H°ARB°H MA°ouD°¹⁰⁷), not "I am thy great reward." And Abram said, "A°DouNoI I°HV°H (= Milord of I°HV°H) what wouldst thou give me? etc., etc." And again in verse 8, "A°DouNoI I°HV°H by what shall I know that I will inherit it?" Then again in the theophany of the three men, chap. xviii, Abram addresses Jehovah with A°DouNoI alone. My impression is also, that neither Abraham nor Moses, when they had a theophany, have addressed Jehovah by that name directly, but always either coupled with prefixing A°DouNoI, or with it itself. Different from this is the address in prayer. This distinction may prove of great importance to Biblical exegesis and Christian doctrine. For the question arises: How can a theophany be reconciled with the declaration of Jehovah to Moses, "Thou canst not see my face, for the Adam could not see me and live," (Ex. xxxiii. 20) and yet in the same chapter (verse 11) it is said: "And Jehovah would speak to Moses face to face as a mortal man (A°e°ISh°¹⁰⁸) would speak to his friend." And again in Num. xii. 6, 7, 8, when Jehovah chided Aaron, and chastised Miriam for their maladversion against Moses, He said, comparing his intercourse with other prophets, with the intercourse He had with Moses: "Not so is my servant Moses: in all my house is he a trusted one. Mouth to mouth I would speak to him, (BouV)* and a visibleness (VooMaRA°CH)¹⁰⁹ is there, and not with riddles, and the figure (TMooNa°TH)¹¹⁰ of I°HV°H he would look at." Has Jehovah a figure? It would be exegetically very un-

¹⁰⁷ שָׁרָף הַרְבֵּה מְאֹד

¹⁰⁸ אִישׁ

* בֵּי

¹⁰⁹ וּמֵרָאָה

¹¹⁰ תְּמוּנָה

scientific to fall back with this difficulty upon the present fashionable convenient theories of different "relators" and "redactors" of this, that, and the other part of the polychromic Penta-, or Hexateuch. If you identify the person of I^eHV^eH with that of A^aD^{ou}N^oI and translate these two names as they stand together, as though they were in apposition, then the difficulty referred to is insurmountable. But remembering that the ancient Hebrew never gives to one person more than *one* name, and recognizing the evident distinction between these two different names, and that they can not, therefore, be in apposition, but in the constructive genitive case, if you will translate A^aD^{ou}N^oI I^eHV^eH "Milord of Jehovah," you will then see the harmony of those very Scriptures which some people have torn to pieces and assigned the pieces to different and differing persons and ages,—you will see them given from one Shepherd, ay, for His sheep that know His voice.

But first of all, (a) What is the meaning of A^aD^{ou}N^oI? and (b) How does it differ from A^aD^{ou}N^{ee}I? The consonants are the same, the vowel points alone differ. It would be exegetically unscientific to accord implicit authority to the great and small Massorahs in their pointing or vowelizing of this word ADNI¹¹¹ one way here and another way there throughout the Old Testament. I have previously called attention to our Lord's disproving the correctness of the massoretic pointing of these four letters in Psalm cx (see pp. 392 ff.). At the same time I would be the last on earth to disparage the invaluable services of the Massorahs. All I contend for is the old rule of literary freedom: "*non jurare in verbo magistri.*" What then (a) is the meaning of A^aD^{ou}N^oI, and (b) how does it differ from A^aD^{ou}N^{ee}I? This last is certainly from the noun A^aD^oVN¹¹² = "Lord" with the first person of the possessive pronoun, and means, therefore, "My Lord." This

English word is a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *Hlaf-weard*, i. e., "keeper of the loaf." This is far from the idea of Creator, or Eternal Being. To this word A^aDou-N^{ee}I no pronouns are suffixed, but to the same consonants when pointed A^aDouN^oI we find all possessive pronouns affixed, proving it, therefore, to be an appellative name, treated linguistically in some respects like the divine appellative name A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM. Similar, too, this is to the now quaint usage of the English "My Milord, thy, his, her Milord, or lords." The first instance of this compound divine name in the Old Testament is in the case of Abram (Gen. xv. 2, 8). Abram says to a vision of Jehovah speaking to him "A^aDouN^oI I^eHV^eH, What canst Thou give me, etc., etc.?" and again "A^aDouN^oI I^eHV^eH by what shall I know that I will inherit it?" Elsewhere Abram addresses Jehovah with A^aDouN^oI alone. (Why is there not a theory of Adonaists?) Now keep in mind clearly that this A^aDouN^oI is a human title applied to God, and that in its meaning it refers to *acquired* possession, that it differs, therefore, in meaning from the names A^eL^{ou}H^{ee}IM and Jehovah which are applied to the Creator, then ask yourself what could Abram have meant by putting these two names together? Or, take even the basest views of the highly destructive critics, and grant for the sake of argument, that this record about Abram and Jehovah is a mere myth that never really took place. But surely the record did not write itself, what then did that mythograph mean by putting this double name in the mouth of Abram? Take in the situation: Abram, the old Aramic sheik, had just returned from a brilliant military expedition, in which, with his three hundred and eighteen "initiates" (HH^aN^{ee}IKh^oIV)¹¹³ he pursued a number of invading kings with their armies, who went off with the booty of the defeated kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, his

neighbors. On his way back with that booty the king of Sodom went out to meet him, and with the king came also Melchizedek, king of Sholem, who was at the same time, it is said, priest to the High God. This king and priest saluted Abram with bread and wine in token of proffered covenant and friendship. Now listen to their theological talk. Melchizedek blesses Abram and says: "Blessed be Abram to High God, purchaser of heavens and earth. And blessed be High God who unshielded thine enemies with thy hand." Upon this Abram gives the king-priest the tenth of all the booty except the recaptured persons. Abram refuses to accept, and solemnly swears saying: "I cause my hand to be lifted up to Jehovah the High God purchaser of heavens and earth, if I take anything, etc., etc." Abram makes here the pointed confession in the presence of the priest to High God, that to him, (Abram) this High God is Jehovah, whom they say to be the purchaser of heavens and earth. I say *they*, not Abram, for in all the subsequent history of Abram, and even of all his posterity there is rarely to be found that they regard the High God Jehovah as purchaser but almost always as maker of heavens and earth and all there is in them. But brilliant as this exploit of Abram was, he evidently feared an attack of the same kings he defeated. For Jehovah appears to him in a vision, telling him not to fear, for his (Abram's) reward is very great. Then Abram says to Jehovah, "A^aDouN^oI I^eHV^eH what canst Thou give me, while I am childless," etc., etc. Then follows the wonderful covenant between Abram and Jehovah, which was to be sealed in the body by Abram and all his posterity. What could this juxtaposition of a name denoting an obtainer or acquirer, to a name applied to the Creator, only mean? Can it mean anything else, but that together with Jehovah there is also another Deity, who is an obtainer or acquirer of heaven and earth? This became a mystery of many

subsequent ages. This obtainer appears in the long and eventful history of the Abrahamic posterity as the worker (M^aLA^oKh,¹¹⁴ from ML^oKh^oH¹¹⁵ = "work," not from the hypothetical L^oA^aKh¹¹⁶) of Jehovah. He is an inter-mediating Deity between Jehovah and His people. This double appellation, A^aD^{ou}N^oI I^eHV^eH is very rare in the early part of the Old Testament, while A^aD^{ou}N^oI alone is very frequent. The double is found once in Joshua vii, 7, twice in Judges, vi. 22, xvi. 28, thrice in 2 Samuel vii, 18, 19, 20, twice in one Psalm, lxxi. 5, 16 (evidently a Davidic Psalm), five times in Isaiah, xxviii. 22; l. 7, 9; lxxv. 13, 15 (very significantly Christian), once in Jeremiah, xlv. 26, where the prophet in the name of Jehovah calls it ShM^{ee}I HaGG^oDV^{ou}L = "my great name." Then we meet it innumerable times in Ezekiel and the minor prophets. The mystery of that name, which cannot be rendered grammatically any other way than "Milord of Jehovah," does not become cleared up as to who that person A^aD^{ou}N^oI is till we read of him in the second Psalm. And if this untitled Psalm is an Exilic, or post-Exilic one, it is one more evidence of how much the Jews learned about the true God and His Christ in that short exile, apart from their radically unlearning there their old hankering after the worship of idols. Let us read together this second Psalm:

1. "Why raged the peoples, and nations meditated vanity?

2. "Together stood themselves up Kings of the earth, and secretaries consulted, against Jehovah and His anointed.

3. "Let us remove *their* [Jehovah's and His Anointed's] bands, and let us throw away from us their ropes.

4. "He that sitteth in the heavens will laugh, [who is he?] Milord A^aD^{ou}N^oI will deride them. [Compare this with Isaiah lxxv. 13]

¹¹⁴ מְלָאךְ

¹¹⁵ מְלָאכָה

¹¹⁶ מְלָךְ

5. "When He [Milord] would speak to them in His anger He would overwhelm them.

6. As for me (A^aDouN^oI) I have libated my King [i. e., poured out the royal dedicatory libation] upon Zion my holy mount. I (A^aDouN^oI) will declare the decree Jehovah said to me: 'Thou (A^aDouN^oI) art my son, this day I (I^eHV^eH) have begotten thee.'

You see the mystery is cleared up; A^aDouN^oI is the son of I^eHV^eH the Father; He is His Son from eternity but is born in time, and as a time-born individual, He has to ask. Therefore:

8. "Ask of Me (I^eHV^eH) and I will give peoples as thine inheritance [i. e., inalienable possession, according to the law of Jubilee], and thy stronghold ends of earth.

9. "Thou wilt pasture them (TⁱRGH^{ai}M), (com. Rev. ii. 27: *Καὶ ποιμανεῖ αὐτοὺς ἐν ῥάβδῳ σιδηρᾷ*) with a rod of iron; like a potter's vessel thou shalt break and scatter them.

10. "And now Kings!

11. "Serve ye Jehovah with awe, and rejoice tremblingly.

12. "Kiss *the* son [B^aR, a noun that has no plural] lest He (I^eHV^eH) become angry and ye lose a way [for you have to go back to Him, but how?]. For if His anger kindle even but a little—blessed are all they, who trust for protection in Him, the Son."

Further comment is unnecessary, adoration of this revealed mystery is in place.

Finally let me sum up:

1. A^eLouHeeIM, the plural of A^eLouVH^a, shows by the prevalent use of the verbs in singular with it, that it denotes a unity in plurality. H^oA^eLouHeeIM refers to I^eHV^eH.

2. I^eHV^eH A^eLouHeeIM means "Jehovah of Elohim," and to translate it "Lord God" is a threefold error: (a)

Gives the Creator an inferior title, (*b*) makes a singular of a plural, (*c*) makes an apposition of a constructive case.

3. I^eHV^eH is the name of the Father, whose son is A^aD^{ou}N^oI = "Milord," and therefore A^aD^{ou}N^oI I^eHV^eH must be rendered "Milord of Jehovah."

4. The inevitable bearing these linguistic restorations must have upon the theories of Jehovist and Elohist.

5. The Jews pray to A^aD^{ou}N^oI the Son, yet they do not know Him; how long shall they remain in ignorance?

EPHRAIM M. EPSTEIN, M. D., A. M.

CHICAGO, ILL.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF EARLY CHINESE PHILOSOPHY

INTRODUCTION.

A TOLERABLY authentic history of Chinese civilization dates back as early as three thousand years before the Christian era, when the Three Rulers¹ and the Five Emperors² began to govern well-settled communities along the Yellow River. The Shu King,³ one of the oldest books extant in China, contains among others some important documents issued by Yao and Shun,⁴ whose imperial reigns flourished presumably in the twenty-fourth century before Christ. These documents contain some interesting religious material shedding light on the early Chinese conception of nature, which is still prevalent with only slight modifications down to the present day. But the real awakening of philosophical inquiry in China must be said to be in the time when the Chou dynasty (1122-255 B. C.) began to show signs of decline in the seventh century be-

¹ The "Three Rulers," generally known as the Heavenly, Earthly, and Human Sovereigns, are perhaps personifications of the three powers of nature. Their age belongs to the mythological era of Chinese history.

² The "Five Emperors" are always mentioned, but their names differ. A most popular enumeration is Fuh Hi, Shên Ming, Huang Ti, Kin T'ien, and Chuan Hû, covering the period 2852-2355 B. C.

³ The Shu King is one of the five canonical books called *King*, which are: Yi King (Book of Changes), Shih King (Book of Odes), Shu King (Book of History), Li Ki (Records of Rites), and Ch'un Ch'iu (Spring and Autumn.) See the *Sacred Books of the East*, vols. III, XVI, XXVII, XXVIII, and also *Chinese Classics* by Legge, vols. III, IV, V.

⁴ The two ideal sage-kings of ancient China. Yao reigned 2356-2255 B. C., and Shun, 2255-2205 B. C.

fore Christ. The Chinese intellect, however, must have been in operation for a long time before this, and the results of it, though imperfect and fragmentary, found their way in some of the appendices of the Yi King and in Lao-tze's Tao Te King and in other ancient books.

Beginning with the seventh century B. C., a galaxy of philosophical and ethical thinkers led by Lao-tze and Confucius continued most brilliantly to illuminate the early stage of Chinese philosophy. It was as though one would walk in springtime, after the confinement of a long, monotonous winter, into the field, where flowers of various hues and odors greet him on all sides. Thus, this epoch comprising about four hundred years was one of the most glorious periods in the whole history of Chinese civilization; and because it was suddenly cut short by the Ch'in dynasty, it is commonly known as the Ante-Ch'in period. The Chinese mind may have developed later a higher power of reasoning and made a deeper study of consciousness, but its range of intellectual activities was never surpassed in any other period. If, later on, it gained in precision, it lost sadly in its freedom which sometimes turned to pure wantonness. It had many problems to busy itself with at this awakening stage of national intellectual life. The universe was yet new to the thinking mind, which was able to find problems to grapple with wheresoever its attention was directed, it was so plastic and so creative. But after this there set in a time of induration, whereby the intellectual blood was doomed to run along the old stiffened veins.

An unhappy end came quite abruptly to this glorious Ante-Ch'in period. When in the year 221 B. C. the First Emperor (Shih Huang Ti) of the Ch'in dynasty (221-206 B. C.) succeeded in consolidating the small kingdoms and dukedoms of feudal China into one empire, he took the most drastic measures ever conceived by an absolute monarch

to suppress the spirit of liberty which was just beginning to bloom. He would not tolerate a single thought that did not agree with his. He would not countenance scholars and thinkers who dared to assume an independent air and voice their own opinions. He silenced all criticism by burying his critics alive, and put an end to the discord of beliefs by burning all the books and documents that were not in sympathy with the new administration (213 B. C.). The effects of such radical measures were just what the Emperor desired. He suppressed all independence of thought and reduced the spirit of the nation to a comatose condition, which lasted for a millennium. During these times, China produced not a single original thinker. The cyclone was so destructive, leaving desolation in its wake, that the people did not venture building any new structure of thought, but were constantly endeavoring to recover what they had lost. They made a diligent search among the literary remains. Whatever discoveries they made were carefully studied, and commentaries were written by various hands. Those which could not be found, though their traditional existence was known, were manufactured and came out boldly with the old labels on them. So, this period proved a fruitful season for literary forgery.

Buddhism was introduced during this lethargic period of Chinese thought (213 B. C.—959 A. D.). In spite of the strong conservative spirit of the Celestials, the new doctrine did not meet with great opposition. Finding a similar vein of thought in the teachings of Laotze, the Buddhists utilized his terminology to the best advantage, and also coined a number of new words to express ideas hitherto unknown to the Chinese. A gradual and steady spread of Buddhism among the scholars paved the way for a renaissance under the Sung dynasty (960-1279 A. D.). The people were not observing the propagation of

the foreign doctrine with their characteristic indifference, but gradually recognized the superiority in many respects of the Hindu intellect, especially in metaphysics and methodology. This recognition of the merits of Buddhism was a great impulse to the pedantic disciples of Confucius.

Though the Confucians were not inclined in those days to do anything more than merely editing and commenting upon some lately discovered classics, Chinese Buddhists busily occupied themselves with the elaboration of their sutras. They not only rendered many Sanskrit texts into their own language, but also produced some original religio-philosophical works. Their inspiration, of course, originally came from the Buddhist canons, but they assimilated them so perfectly that Chinese Buddhism can be said to stand on its own footing. Their philosophy was more profound than that of Confucius. Their world-conception penetrated more deeply into the nature of things. We generally understand by the history of Chinese philosophy that of Confucianism, for it is nothing more than that except in the Ante-Ch'in period when other thoughts than those of Confucius appeared in the arena. But if we want to thoroughly understand the train of thought that was prevalent during the renaissance, we cannot ignore the significance of the development of Buddhism during the hibernation period of Confucianism.

The re-awakening of Chinese philosophy under the Sung dynasty marked a clearly defined period in its history. Speculation which was refreshed after its long slumber of one thousand years, now grappled with the questions of the Sphinx more intelligently, if not more boldly, than it did during the Ante-Ch'in period. Buddhism stirred up the Chinese nerve to respond to the new stimuli. It furnished the Chinese stomach with more food to digest and assimilate into its system. But the Chinese did not swallow the new food just as it came to them. They in-

tuitively discarded what they thought was not profitable for their practical nature. They drew inspiration from Buddhism in those problems only which Confucius set up for their intellectual exercise. It may, therefore, be properly said that this period of Chinese renaissance did not bring out any new philosophical problems outside of the narrow path beaten by the earlier Confucians. During the Ante-Ch'in period Confucianism was not yet firmly established, and there were rival doctrines which struggled for ascendancy and recognition. The thinkers of the time felt a strong aversion to being yoked to one set of teachings. But the philosophers of the Sung dynasty would never think of deviating from the old rut. They became conscious of many new thoughts introduced from India, and endeavored to utilize them only so far as they were available for a fuller interpretation of the Confucian doctrines, which, like the will of the Almighty, were to them irrevocable and infallible. They never dreamt of repudiating or contradicting them in any way. All their new acquisitions, from whatever source they might have come, were invariably made use of for the discovery of something hidden in the old doctrines and for a fuller analysis of them. What was original with them was the interpretation of the old system in a new light.

Strictly speaking, the Chinese are not speculative people as the Greeks and Hindus were. Their interests always center in moral science. Whatever subtlety is in reasoning, and whatever boldness in imagination, they never lose sight of the practical and moral aspect of things. They refuse to be carried up to a heaven where inhabitants "neither marry nor are given in marriage." They prefer to be tied down in earthly relations wherever they may go. They would deride those star-gazers whose legs are fatally chained to the earth; for to whatsoever soaring heights man's speculation may climb, he is utterly unable to change

his destiny here below. This must always be kept in mind when we peruse the history of Chinese thought. The practical nature and conservatism of Confucianism put an eternal seal on it, forever forbidding it to wander in a cometary orbit.

The Sung dynasty is followed by the Yin (1271-1363), which did not contribute anything worth especial consideration to the history of Chinese philosophy. This short Mongolian dynasty left its pages opened where it found them. Its successor, the Ming dynasty (1363-1663), however, produced one great moral and intellectual character in the person of Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529). He was a worthy heir to the thoughts that stimulated and rejuvenated the Chinese mind at the time of the Sung renaissance. Though he was not an independent philosopher in the sense of being non-Confucian, he was original enough to find a new path to the confirmation and realization of the old, time-honored doctrines. After the passing of this luminary, the Chinese intellectual heavens have again been overcast with clouds; and from his time until the present day nothing significant and deserving mention has ever stirred the Chinese serenity. Under the present Manchurian dynasty (reigning since 1644), China enjoys a dreamy inactivity induced by the excessive use of the opium of conservatism.

Some time has elapsed since the introduction of Western culture and thought into the Far East, but only a handful of scholars among hundreds of millions of souls have condescended to have a shy look at it, while the remainder are contentedly living in company with their time-worn, thread-bare usages and traditions and superstitions. Any one who knows the Chinese mode of thinking will admit that it may take some five hundred years more to waken the sleeping giant of the Orient intellectually from

his eternal slumber and to make him contribute something of his own to the world-treasury of thought.

GENERAL CHARACTER OF ANTE-CH'IN LITERATURE.

The Ante-Ch'in period yields the richest harvest of original thought in the whole history of Chinese philosophy. As the tide of civilization had then advanced far enough and the general social and political environment of the time was very favorable, the Chinese mind plunged itself unreservedly into a bold speculation on life and the universe. It had nothing so far in the past that would distract it from fully expressing itself. It was ushered into a field whose virgin soil had not yet been touched by human hands. Natural selection had not yet set her stamp on any definite conception of life that seemed universally acceptable to the national intellectual idiosyncrasy. The competition for supremacy was keen and free, and time had not yet announced the survival of the fittest. Confucianism was found still struggling for its existence; Taoism was not yet recognized as a distinct system; the so-called *I-twan*,⁵ heterodox teachings, were boldly standing on a level with the orthodox, *Chang-tao*⁶. Enjoying the utmost freedom of speech and unhampered by the tyranny of tradition, every man of intelligence ventured his own opinion and could find a hearing. If the facilities of printing and distribution were such as they are to-day, we can imagine what a spectacular sight the Chinese world of thought would present in this Ante-Ch'in period.

The Chinese mind seems to have exhausted itself in this period, for through the entire course of its history no further original thoughts appeared, than were expressed at this time either explicitly or by implication. Some of the thoughts that were then uttered audibly

⁵ 異端

⁶ 正道

enough had even to suffer the sad fate of being almost entirely ignored by later philosophers. As soon as the Confucian teachings gained a strong hold on the people, no doctrines were encouraged to develop that did not help to elucidate Confucius in a better light or in a popular form. The history of Chinese thought after the Ch'in closely resembles in this respect that of the European Mediaeval philosophy, only the former assumed a milder form; for Confucianism did not favor superstition, fanaticism, and irrational vagaries such as we meet with in the Middle Ages. It was practical to a fault, moralizing and positivistic, and refused to be thrown into the abysmal depths of metaphysics. Consequently, the train of thought found in Taoism could not make any further development even after its contact with Hindu speculation represented in Buddhism. Chwangtze was practically the climax of the Laotzean philosophy, with no system, with no method, but pregnant with mystic suggestions and vague assumptions. Thus, it can be said that the Chinese philosophy of the Ante-Ch'in period was richer in thought, broader in scope, and bolder in speculation than that in any succeeding age.

One thing at least that prevented the Chinese from making headway in their philosophy, is their use of ideographic characters. Not only are the characters themselves intractable, inflexible and clumsy, but their grammatical construction is extremely loose. The verbs are not subject to conjugation, the nouns are indeclinable, no tense-relations are grammatically expressible. Now, language is the tool of reason, and at the same time it is the key to the understanding. When we cannot wield the tool as we will, the material on which we work fails to produce the effects we desire; and the reader is at a loss to understand the real meaning which was intended by the author. How could thinkers of the first magnitude

express themselves satisfactorily in such a language as Chinese? Terseness, brevity, strength, and classical purity are desirable in certain forms of literature, and for this purpose the Chinese language may be eminently adapted. But while logical accuracy and literal precision are the first requisites, those rhetorical advantages mean very little. More than that, they are actually an inconvenience and even a hindrance to philosophical writings.⁷

Another thing that is sadly lacking in the Chinese mind is logic. This fact shows itself in the Ante-Ch'in philosophy and throughout its succeeding periods. In India as well as in Greece, when intellectual culture reached a similar height to that of the Ante-Ch'in period in China, they had their logic and *hetuvidya* (science of causes). They were very strict in reasoning and systematic in drawing conclusions. Their minds seem to have been made of much finer fiber than the Chinese. The latter were filled with common sense and practical working knowledge. They did not want to waste their mental energy on things which have apparently no practical and immediate bearings on their everyday life. They did not necessarily aim at distinctness of thought and exactitude of expression, for in our practical and concrete world there is nothing that can claim absolute exactness. As long as we are moving on earth, the Chinese might have unconsciously reasoned, there was no need for them to get entangled in the meshes of verbal subtlety and abstract speculation. Therefore, when their philosophy did not

⁷ We can well imagine what a difficult task it was for the first Chinese Buddhists to render their highly abstract and greatly complicated canonical books into the native tongue. They could never be transformed and compressed into the classical model of Chinese philosophy; and the result was that even to-day after more than one thousand years of intercourse and intermixture with the native thoughts, Buddhist literature forms a distinct class by itself. Those scholars who are versed only in general Chinese classics are unable to understand Buddhist writings. Even Buddhist monks themselves who could not read the Sanskrit or Pali originals must have experienced almost unsurmountable difficulties in understanding the translations of their sacred books.

vanish in the mist of vague mysticism as in the case of Taoism, it tenaciously clung to the agnosticism of everyday experience, in which there was no absolute being, no miraculous revelation, no eternal individual continuity after death.

Now let us see what were the principal thoughts that were being elaborated by the Chinese mind during the Ante-Ch'in period of Chinese philosophy. They will be broadly treated under "Philosophy," "Ethics," and "Religion."

PHILOSOPHY.

The philosophy of the Chinese has always been practical and closely associated with human affairs. No ontological speculation, no cosmogonical hypothesis, no abstract ethical theory, seemed worthy of their serious contemplation unless it had a direct bearing upon practical morality. They did, indeed, speculate in order to reach the ultimate ground of existence, but existence as they conceived it did not cover so wide a realm as we commonly understand it, for to them it meant not the universe in general, but only a particular portion of it, that is, human affairs, and these only so far as they are concerned with this present mundane life, political and social. Thus, we do not have in China so much of pure philosophy as of moral sayings. The Chinese must be said to have strictly observed the injunction: "Know then thyself, presume not God to scan; the proper study of mankind is man." And this fact must be borne in mind when we investigate the history of Chinese philosophy. Though here I have devoted a special chapter to philosophy, it must be understood that the subject was treated by the Chinese somewhat as a side-issue.

Dualism, or the Yin and Yang.

Two antagonistic currents of thought manifested themselves at an early date in the history of Chinese philosophy and run throughout its entire course. One is represented by the Yi King and Confucius (B. C. 551-479),⁸ the other by Laotze.⁹ The former advocated a dualism and showed agnostic, positivistic, and practical tendencies, while the latter was monistic, mystical, and transcendental.

Dualism was the first speculative philosophy ever constructed by Chinese thinkers. It is set forth in one of the oldest writings called Yi King, "Book of Changes." The book is, however, the most unintelligible, most enigmatical document ever found in Chinese literature. Many conflicting theories have been advanced as to its real value and meaning, and we have not yet come to any definite settlement. As far as I can judge, its true significance had been entirely lost even as early as the beginning of the Chou dynasty. Not being able to determine its exact nature, King Wen (B. C. 1231-1135) and Lord Chou (who died B. C. 1105) took it for a sort of general treatise on natural phenomena and human affairs, and upon this surmise they

⁸ What was done by Confucius along the line of literary work, was mostly the compiling and editing of old records and traditions. Of the Five Canonical Books thus edited by him, the Spring and Autumn undoubtedly comes from his own pen, but certain parts of the Book of Changes (*Yi King*) known as "Appendices" and usually ascribed to his authorship are denied by some scholars to be indisputably his. The best book that gives his unadulterated views is the Analects (*Lun Yü*) compiled probably by his immediate disciples after his death. It also throws light on his personality. It is the New Testament of Confucianism. An English translation (second edition) by Legge was published in 1893. The volume also contains his translation of the other two of the Four Books (*shu*), that is, The Great Learning (*Tai Hsiao*) and The Doctrine of the Mean (*Chung Yung*). The Mencius, the fourth book of the Four Books, was also translated by Legge, and forms the second volume of *Chinese Classics*.

⁹ The life of Laotze is almost lost in a legendary mist, but one thing that is authentically known is that he was an older contemporary of Confucius and flourished during the sixth century before Christ. The Tao Teh King, "Canon of Reason and Virtue," is the title of his only work, which is said to have been written by him through the request of his friend and disciple, Kwan Yin-hi, when the old philosopher was leaving his own country. More about the book below.

wrote some commentary notes which imply suggestions of practical wisdom and moral instructions. Some four hundred years later, Confucius again struggled hard to arrive at a definite and true estimate of the book. He seems to have been not wholly satisfied with the practical interpretation of it by Wen and Chou. He wished to find a speculative philosophical foundation in the apparently confusing and enigmatic passages of the Yi King. He is said to have expressed his earnest desire to have his life prolonged several years, so that he could devote them exclusively to the study of this mysterious literature. The "Appendices"¹⁰ popularly ascribed to Confucius contain some philosophical reflections, and on that account some later exegetists declare that the Yi King was primarily a philosophical treatise and later transformed into a book of divination. Whatever the true nature of the book, it is from this that early Chinese thinkers derived their dualistic conception of the world.

Some lexicographers think that the character *yi*¹¹ is made of "sun"¹² and "moon"¹³. Whether this be the real origin of the character or not, the interpretation is very ingenious, for *yi* means change in any form,—the change from daylight to moonlight night, the change from blooming springtime to harvesting autumn, or the change from fortune to ill luck and *vice versa*. Change is a predominant characteristic of all existence; and this is caused by the interplay of the male (*yang*) and the female (*yin*) principles in the universe. According to the interaction of these opposite forces, which in the Yi King proper are called *Chien*¹⁴ and *K'un*¹⁵ and represented respectively by a whole line and a divided line, beings now come into exist-

¹⁰ We do not know certainly whether Confucius really wrote those "Appendices." They may contain some of his own words and thoughts, especially in such passages as introduced by "The Master said"; but the "Appendices" as a whole were evidently written by many hands, as their styles and expressions and points of view vary widely from one another.

¹¹ 易

¹² 日

¹³ 月

¹⁴ 乾

¹⁵ 坤

ence and now go out of it, and a constant transformation in the universe takes place.

So it is said in the Appendix III, (cf. Legge, p. 348 et seq.): "Heaven is high, earth is low; and [the relation between] the strong (*ch'ien*) and the weak (*k'un*) is determined. The low and the high are arranged in order, and [the relation between] the noble and the lowly is settled. Movement and rest follow their regular course, and [the relation between] the rigid and the tender is defined.

"Things are set together according to their classes; beings are divided according to their groups; and there appear good and evil. In the heavens there are [different] bodies formed; and there take place changes and transformations.

"Therefore, the rigid and the tender come in contact; the eight symbols interact. To stimulate we have thunder and lightning. To moisten we have wind and rain. The sun and moon revolve and travel, which give rise to cold and warmth.

"The strong principle makes the male, and the weak principle makes the female. By the strong the great beginning is known, and weak brings beings into completion. The strong principle becomes intelligible through changes, the weak principle becomes efficient through selection. The changing is easy to understand. Selection is easy to follow. As it is easy to understand, there grows familiarity: as it is easy to follow efficiency is gained. That which is familiar will last: that which is efficient will be great. Lasting is the virtue of a wise man; great is the accomplishment of a wise man. Through change and selection is obtained the reason of the universe. When the reason of the universe is obtained, the perfect abides in its midst."

Again, Confucius says in Appendix IV (cf. Legge, p. 395): "The strong and the weak are the gates of change.

The strong is the male gender, and the weak is the female gender. When the male and the female are united in their virtues, the rigid and the tender are formulated, in which are embodied all the phenomena of heaven and earth, and through which are circulated the powers of the spirits bright."

To make another quotation, in which the gist of the dualistic conception of the Yi King is more concisely stated (Appendix VI, cf. Legge, p. 423): "In olden times when the wise men made the Yi, they wanted it to be in accord with the nature and destiny of things, which is reason. Therefore, they established the heavenly way in Yin and Yang; they established the earthly way in tenderness and rigidity; they established the human way in humaneness and righteousness. Thus, each of the three powers of nature was made to be controlled by a set of two principles."

Whatever we may call them, the strong and the weak, or the rigid and the tender, or the male and the female, or heaven and earth, or Yang and Yin, or Chien and K'un, there are according to the Yi King two independent principles, and their interplay governed by fixed laws constitutes the universe. And these fixed laws are nothing else than the sixty-four trigrams (*kua*)¹⁶ as defined and explained, however enigmatically, in the Yi King proper. The practical Chinese mind, however, did not see this numerical conception of the world in its widest philosophical significance as Pythagoras did, but confined it to the vicissitudes of human affairs. Even when Confucius attempted to see a natural philosophical basis in the composition of the Yi King, he could not ignore its ethical bearings and plunged himself deeply into bold speculations. The most prominent trait of the Chinese mind is to moralize on every imaginable subject. They could not but betray this

¹⁶ 卦

tendency even with the apparently nonsensical whole and divided strokes of the eight trigrams.¹⁷

Positivism.

Along with a dualistic conception of nature, what is most characteristic of Chinese thought is its strong aversion to metaphysics. Avowed assertions of this sentiment have been repeatedly made by Confucius and his school, who later on proved to be the typical representative of the Chinese national mind. They persistently refused to go beyond our everyday experiences. Their prosaic intellect always dwelt on things human and mundane. The discovery of two contrasting principles in nature satisfied their speculative curiosity, if they had any; they did not venture into a realm beyond the interaction in this visible universe of the Yin and Yang. And it was through this interaction that some definite laws have come to be established in the physical world as well as in the moral, and these laws are curiously set forth in the Book of Changes. Therefore, what we have to do here on earth is to put ourselves in harmony with these laws. When this is done, our life-program as human being is completed. Why shall we go beyond these observable and intelligible laws of nature and morality, only to find out something transcendental and therefore necessarily having no practical bearings on our earthly life? Are we not sufficient unto ourselves without making our imagination soar high? This is the most characteristic attitude of Confucius.

Says Confucius, "How could we know death when

¹⁷ I shall not venture my opinion concerning the nature and significance of the Yi King proper, as this does not particularly concern us here. The "Appendices" are more important and interesting as embodying an early system of Chinese speculation and as forecasting the development of Chinese philosophy in the Sung Dynasty. For further information concerning the *kua* (trigrams) and *yao* (lines) of the Yi King, see Dr. Carus's *Chinese Philosophy and Chinese Thought*, p. 25 ff. (Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago) and Legge's Yi King in the *S. B. E.*, vol. XVI.

life is not yet understood?" (An., bk. XI.) Again, "Do not trouble yourselves with things supernatural, physical prowess, monstrosities, and spiritual beings." (Bk. VII.) Again, "How could we serve spiritual beings while we do not know how to serve men?" (Bk. XI.) In the Doctrine of the Mean (*Chung Yang*), however, Confucius expresses himself much more plainly concerning spiritual beings, (Chapter XVI): "How glorious are the virtues of spiritual beings! Our eyes cannot perceive them, our ears cannot hear them, yet they embody themselves in all things, which cannot exist without them. Yet, [the spirits] make all the people in the world regulate themselves, cleanse themselves, and, clad in the ceremonial dress, attend to the sacrificial ceremony. How full and pervading they are! They seem to be above us, they seem to be with us. It is said in the Odes that the coming of the spirits is beyond [human] calculation, and much more beyond a feeling of aversion. The reason why the invisible are so manifest is that sincerity can never be concealed."

According to these passages, the Confucian doctrine is quite apparent. There might be something on the other side of this life. All these natural phenomena and moral doings might have something underneath them, from which they gain their evidently inexplicable energy. Indeed, we feel the existence of something invisible, we are compelled to acknowledge this fact as at the time of the sacrificial ceremony. But we do not know its exact nature and signification, which are too deep or too hidden for the human understanding to unravel. As far as its apparent recognizable laws and manifestations are concerned, they are, however enigmatically, stated in the Book of Changes, and all that we mortals have to do in this world is to understand these knowable phenomena and leave alone the unknowable. This line of argument seems to have appealed most strongly to the Confucian mind.

Indeed, the Confucians and other philosophers speak of T'ien¹⁸ or Heaven, or Heavenly Destiny (*t'ien ming*),¹⁹ or the Great Limit (*t'ai chi*)²⁰; but they never seem to have attempted any further investigation of the nature of this mysterious being or principle called T'ien.

* * *

It is in the Yi King that we can trace, though very sporadically, an idealistic, monistic, and mystical tendency, which finally developed into the speculative philosophy of the Sung dynasty, but which was almost completely neglected by the early advocates of the Confucian school. I shall quote here some passages from the Yi King to illustrate my point. Before quoting, however, it will be opportune to remark here that the term "Yi" sometimes has the force and signification of an abstract principle itself rather than the actual phenomenon of mere transformation or interaction, and again that it sometimes designates a system of philosophy which most truthfully explains the reason of all changes in this dualistic world.

"The Yi²¹ is not conscious, nor does it labor; it is quiet and does not stir. It feels and then communes with the wherefore of the universe. If it were not the most spiritual thing in the universe, how could it behave this wise?"

"It is through the Yi that holy men fathom the depths [of being] and explore the reason of motion (*chi*).²² Deep it is, and therefore it is able to comprehend the will of the universe. It is the reason of motion, and therefore it is able to accomplish the work of the universe. It is spiritual, and therefore it quickens without being speedy, it arrives without walking."

Further, we read (cf. Legge, p. 373): "Therefore, the Yi has the great origin (*t'ai chi*), which creates the two principles; and the two principles create the four symbols (*hsiang*); and the four symbols create the eight trigrams

¹⁸ 天

¹⁹ 天命

²⁰ 太極

²¹ Cf. Legge, p. 370.

²² 幾

(*kua*). The eight trigrams determine the good and evil; and the good and evil create the great work."

In the first of the so-called Confucian Appendices (Hsi Tz'u),²³ we have:

"The Yi is in accord with Heaven and Earth, and therefore it pervades and is interwoven in the course of Heaven and Earth.

"Look upward, and it is observable in the heavenly phenomena; look downward, and it is recognizable in the earthly design. And it is for this reason that the Yi manifests the wherefore of darkness and brightness.

"As it traces things to their beginning and follows them to their end, it makes known the meaning of death and birth.

"Things are made of the subtle substance (*ching ch'i*)²⁴ and changes occur on account of the wandering spirits (*yu 'hun*).²⁵ Therefore, the Yi knows the characters and conditions of the spiritual beings (*kuei shan*).²⁶

"The Yi seems to be Heaven and Earth themselves, and it therefore never deviates. Its wisdom penetrates the ten thousand things. Its way delivers the world, and it therefore never errs. It rejoices itself in heavenly [ordination] and knows its own destiny; therefore, it never grieves. It rests in its own abode, and its lovingkindness is sincere, and therefore it is capable of its love. It moulds and envelops all the transformations in Heaven and Earth; and it never errs [in its work]. It thoroughly brings all the ten thousand things into completion, and there is nothing wanting in them. Its wisdom passes through the course of day and night. Therefore, the spirits have no quarters, and the Yi has no materiality."

Finally, Yi seems to be used in the sense of *Gesetz-mässigkeit*. For instance (cf. Legge, p. 377):

"When Ch'ien (male) and K'un (female) are ar-

²³ 繫辭上傳 Cf. Legge, p. 353

²⁴ 精氣

²⁵ 游魂

²⁶ 鬼神

ranged in order, the Yi is established between them. When Ch'ien and K'un are destroyed, there is no way of recognizing the Yi. When the Yi is no more recognizable, Ch'ien and K'un may be considered to have altogether ceased to exist."

All these are interesting thoughts, and if Confucius was the real author of these Appendices to the Yi King, from which these quotations are taken, they will prove that Confucius was not after all merely a moral teacher, but was capable of delving deep into the mysteries of life and existence; and we can say that what made the latter-day Confucianism such as it is, is more or less due to the emphasis by its followers of certain practical features of the Confucian doctrine at the expense of its more speculative side. If the master were followed more faithfully and his teachings were developed in all their diverse features, there might have been a much earlier reconciliation between Laotzeanism and Confucianism.

* * *

Mencius²⁷ who was the most brilliant and most militant of all the Confucians of the Ante-Ch'in period, and through whom Confucianism can be said to have been finally and definitely established in such form as we understand it now, speaks of the *Hao jan chi ch'i*²⁸ as filling the universe. (Bk. III.) This Ch'i can freely be translated "universal energy" or "impulse that awakens, stim-

²⁷ 孟子 His date is not exactly known. He seems to have lived somewhere between B. C. 379 and 294. Mencius is the Latinized form of Mang-tze. His work which bears his own name consists of seven chapters or books. Similar to the Confucian Analects, it is mainly composed of the dialogues which took place between the author and the feudal lords of his days whom he visited, and also of those between him and his followers as well as contemporary scholars. Legge's English translation of the Mencius is included in the *Chinese Classics*. Arthur B. Hutchinson published in 1897 an English translation of Farber's *Mind of Mencius* which is written in German. The subtitle of the book is "Political economy based upon moral philosophy, a systematic digest of the doctrines of the Chinese philosopher."

²⁸ 浩然之氣

ulates, and accelerates activity"; it is a kind of psychical agency which animates life on this earth; it is a nervous system of the macrocosm. But Mencius did not use the term in such a broad sense, he limited its sphere and value of activity to our moral life. It is more definite, more psychical, and therefore nearer to humanity than the Confucian conception of T'ien or T'ien Ming, which seems to be a vestige, though considerably refined, of natural religion as professed in the Shu King or Shih King. None the less Mencius's Ch'i was too practical, too ethical, to be elevated to the dignity of a universal principle of existence. He did not apparently take any interest in the metaphysical side of the Yi system. He developed only the ethicalism of his great predecessor, though not in its entirety and completeness. He was truly the representative of the Confucian positivism.

Monism.

There were not lacking, however, in the Ante-Ch'in period certain tendencies that counterbalanced the ultra-practical, positivistic train of thought as represented by Confucianism. Though these tendencies did not attain a full manifestation at any time in the history of Chinese thought, they showed a strong front at this incipient stage to their antagonistic systems. They sprang mainly from the teachings of the Tao Te King,²⁹ and may be characterized as monistic, mystic, transcendental, and sometimes pantheistic. Laotze; however, was not the first and sole expounder of these thoughts. He doubtless had many predecessors whose words and lives are scatteringly re-

²⁹ There exist several translations of this most widely known book of Taoism in the English as well as other European languages. It is a short work consisting of some five thousand Chinese characters. It is divided into eighty-one chapters as we have it now, but the division was not the author's own, and it sometimes distracts us from an intelligent reading of the book as a whole, which may best be considered a compilation of epigrams and aphorisms.

corded by Confucius, Mencius, Chwangtze, Liehtze, and others, including Laotze himself. What was most meritorious in the author of the Tao Te King was that he gave to these thoughts a literary form through which we are able to trace the history of the Chinese monistic movement to its sources.

When we pass from Confucius to Laotze, we experience an almost complete change of scenery. Confucius, in whom the Chinese minds are most typically mirrored, rarely deviates from the plain, normal, prosaic, and practical path of human life; and his eyes are steadily kept upon our earthly moral relations. Laotze occasionally betrays his national traits, but he does not hesitate to climb the dizzy heights of speculation and imagination. The very first passage of the Tao Te King shows how different his mode of thought is from that of the Confucian school.

"The reason (*tao*) that can be reasoned is not the eternal reason. The name that can be named is not the eternal name. The unnamable is the beginning of heaven and earth. The namable is the mother of the ten thousand things. Therefore, in eternal non-being I wish to see the spirituality of things; and in eternal being I wish to see the limitation of things. These two things are the same in source but different in name. Their sameness is called a mystery. Indeed, it is the mystery of mysteries. It is the door to all spirituality."

According to Laotze, there is only one thing which, though indefinable and beyond the comprehension of the human understanding, is the fountain-head of all beings and the norm of all actions. Laotze calls this Tao. The Tao is not only the formative principle of the universe, it also seems to be the primordial matter. For he says in Chapter XXV of the Tao Te King:

"There is a thing, chaotic in its composition, which was born prior to Heaven and Earth. How noiseless!

How formless! Standing in its solitude, it does not change. Universal in its activity, it does not relax; and thereby it is capable of becoming the mother of the world."

Again, in Chapter XIV, "We look at it, but cannot see it; it is called colorless. We listen to it, but cannot hear it; it is called soundless. We grasp it, but cannot hold it; it is called bodiless. The limits of these three we cannot reach. Therefore, they are merged into one.

"Its top is not bright, its bottom is not murky; its eternity is indefinable; it again returns into nothingness. This I call the shapeless shape, the imageless form; this I call the obscure and vague. We proceed to meet it, but cannot see its beginning; we follow after it but cannot see its end."

In what follows (Chap. XI), Laotze again seems to conceive his Tao at once the formative principle of the universe and the primordial matter from which develops this phenomenal world.

"The nature of the Tao, how obscure, how vague! How vaguely obscure! and yet in its midst there is an image. How obscurely vague! and yet in its midst there is a character. How unfathomable, how indefinite! yet in its midst there is an essence, and the essence is truly pure, in it there is faith. From of old till now, its name never departs, it reviews the beginning of all things."

The Tao, as the reason of the universe and as the principle of all activity, is something unnamable and transcends the grasp of the intellect. The Tao as primordial matter from which this world of particulars has been evolved, is a potentiality; it has a form which is formless; it has a shape which is shapeless; it is enveloped in obscurity and utter indeterminateness. According to what we learn from the Tao Te King, Laotze seems to have comprehended two apparently distinct notions in the conception of Tao. He was evidently not conscious of this

confusion. The physical conception, as we might call it, developed later into the evolution-idea of the *T'ai Chi*³⁰ by the early philosophers of the Sung dynasty, who endeavored to reconcile the Yi philosophy with the Taoist cosmogony. The metaphysical side of Laotze's Tao-conception not only was transformed by his early followers into pantheism and mysticism, it also served as an electric spark, as it were, to the explosion of the famous controversy of the Sung philosophers concerning Essence (*hsing*)³¹ and Reason (*li*).³² Whatever this be, Laotze was the first monist in Chinese philosophy, as the Yi King was the first document that expounded dualism.

Laotze's³³ philosophical successors in the Ante-Ch'in period, whose literary works have been fortunately preserved down to the present day, are Liehtze, Chwangtze, and perhaps Kwanyintze. They all developed the monistic, mystical, idealistic thoughts broadly propounded in the Tao Te King. Being ushered into the time when the first speculative activities of the Chinese mind had attained to their full vigor, those Taoist philosophers displayed a depth of intellectual power, which has never been surpassed by later thinkers in its brilliancy and freshness.

³⁰ The term "T'ai Chi" 太極 first appears in one of the Confucian appendices to the Yi King: "In the system of the Yi there is the Great Limit [or source, *t'ai chi*]. It produces the two principles." . . . This passage has been quoted elsewhere. Here, however, the term *t'ai chi* does not seem to have had a very weighty significance. It merely meant what it literally means, "great limit." The important philosophical sense it came to bear, originates with a thinker of the Sung dynasty called Chou Tun-i (A. D. 1017-1073). According to him, "The Limitless is the Great Limit. The Great Limit moved, and it produced Yang (male principle). At the consummation of the motion there was a rest in the Great Limit. While resting it produced Yin (female principle). At the consummation of the rest it resumed motion. Now moving, now resting, each alternately became the root of the other. With this division of the Yin and the Yang, there were permanently established the two principles."

³¹ 性

³² 理

³³ The character *tse*, which is found in connection with most of the Chinese philosophers' names, has an honorary significance. It primarily means a child, then son, then any male, young or adult or old, and finally gentleman. It also means teacher, sage, philosopher. As a term of address it is equivalent to sire or sir.

What most distinguishes Liehtze³⁴ in the galaxy of Taoists is his cosmogony. According to him, this namable world of phenomena evolved from an unnamable absolute being. This being is called Tao, or the Spirit of Valley (*ku shên*),³⁵ or the Mysterious Mother (*hsuan p'in*),³⁶ all these terms being used by his predecessor, Laotze. The evolution did not take place through the direction of a personal will, that has a definite, conscious plan of its own in the creation or evolution of a universe. Liehtze says that the unnamable is the namable, and the unknowable is the knowable. Therefore, he did not see the need of creating a being or power that stands independent of this namable and knowable world. It was in the very nature of the unnamable that it should evolve a world of names and particulars. It could not do otherwise. Its inherent nature necessitated it to unfold itself in the realm of the Yin and Yang.

To speak more definitely in the author's own words: "There was at the beginning Chaos (*hun tun* or *hun lun*),³⁷ an unorganized mass. It was a mingled potentiality of Form (*hsing*),³⁸ Pneuma (*ch'i*),³⁹ and Substance (*chih*).⁴⁰ A Great Change (*tai yi*)⁴¹ took place in it, and there was a Great Starting (*tai chi*),⁴² which is the beginning of Form. The Great Starting evolved a Great Beginning (*tai shih*),⁴³ which is the inception of Pneuma. The Great Beginning was followed by the Great Blank (*tai su*),⁴⁴ which is the first formation of Substance. Substance,

³⁴ 列子 Liehtze, otherwise called Lieh Yü-kou, is generally known to have lived between the times of Laotze and Chwangtze, that is, sometime in the fifth century before the Christian era. The work which goes under his name seems to have been compiled by his disciples. It consists of eight books or chapters and was first edited in the fourth century A. D. by Chang Chên of the Tsin dynasty. I have no knowledge of any English translation of the Liehtze. My quotations here are mostly taken from Book I, in which his ontological views are comprehensively presented. It is very desirable that some one will undertake the task of translating the entire work, for that will throw much light on the significance of the Taoistic thought.

³⁵ 谷神

³⁶ 玄牝

³⁷ 渾沌 or 渾淪

³⁸ 形

³⁹ 氣

⁴⁰ 質

⁴¹ 太易

⁴² 太初

⁴³ 太始

⁴⁴ 太素

Pneuma, and Form being all evolved out of the primordial chaotic mass, this material world as it lies before us came into existence."

In these statements Liehtze appears to have understood by the so-called Chaos (*hun lun*) only a material potentiality. But, as we proceed, we notice that he did not ignore the reason by which the Chaos was possible to evolve at all. The reason is the Tao, or as he calls it, the Solitary Indeterminate (*i tuh*),⁴⁵ or the Going-and-Coming (*wang fuh*),⁴⁶ or Non-activity (*wu wei*).⁴⁷ The Solitary Indeterminate is that which creates and is not created, that which transforms and is not transformed. As it is not created, it is able to create everlastingly; as it is not transformed, it is able to transform eternally. The Going-and-Coming neither goes nor comes, for it is that which causes things to come and go. Those that come are doomed to go, and those that go are sure to come, but the Coming-and-Going itself remains forever, and its limitations can never be known.

"What comes out of birth is death, but what creates life has no end. What makes a concrete object is substance, but what constitutes the reason of a concrete object has never come to exist. What makes a sound perceptible is the sense of hearing, but what constitutes the reason of sound has never manifested itself. What makes a color perceptible is its visibility, but what constitutes the reason of color has never been betrayed. What makes a taste tastable is the sense of taste, but what constitutes the reason of taste has never been tasted. For all this is the function of non-activity (*wu wei*), that is, reason."

Will there be no end to this constant coming and going of things? Is the world running in an eternal cycle? Liehtze seems to think so, for he says: "That which has life returns to that which is lifeless; that which has form

⁴⁵ 疑獨⁴⁶ 往復⁴⁷ 無爲

returns to that which is formless. That which is lifeless does not eternally remain lifeless; that which is formless does not eternally remain formless. Things exist, because they cannot be otherwise; things come to an end, because they cannot be otherwise; just as much as those which are born, because they cannot be unborn. They who aspire after an eternal life, or they who want to limit their life, are ignoring the law of necessity. The soul is heavenly and the bones are earthly. That which belongs to the heavens is clear and dispenses itself. That which belongs to the earth is turbid and agglomerates itself. The soul is separated from the body and returns (*kwei*)⁴⁸ to its own essence. It is, therefore, called spirit (*kwei*).⁴⁹ Spirit is returning, that is, it returns to its real abode."

Liehtze thus believes that the cycle of birth and death is an irrevocable ordeal of nature. This life is merely a temporary abode and not the true one. Life means lodging (or sojourning or tenanting) and death means coming back to its true abode. Life cannot necessarily be said to be better than death or death than life. Life and death, existence and non-existence, creation and annihilation, are the inherent law of nature, and the world must be said to be revolving on an eternal wheel. The wise man remains serene and unconcerned in the midst of this revolving; he lives as if not living.

The following passage taken from the Liehtze will throw light on his transcendental attitude toward life and the universe.

"A man in the state of Ch'i was so grieved over the possible disintegration of heaven-and-earth and the consequent destruction of his own existence that he could neither sleep nor eat.

"A friend came to him and consolingly explained to him: 'Heaven-and-earth is no more than an accumulated

⁴⁸ 歸⁴⁹ 鬼

pneuma, and the sun, moon, stars, and constellations are pure luminary bodies in this accumulation of pneuma. Even when they may fall on the ground, they cannot strike anything. The earth is an accumulation of masses filling its four empty quarters. Treading on it will not cause it to sink.'

"With this both were satisfied.

"Chang-Tutze heard of it and said, 'The clouds and mist, the winds and rains are accumulated pneuma in the heavens, and the mountains and plains, the rivers and seas are accumulated forms on earth; and who can say that they will never disintegrate?

"'Heaven-and-earth is merely a small atom in space, though the hugest among all concrete objects. It goes without saying that we are unable to survey its end or its limits; it goes without saying that we cannot have its measurement and know its nature.

"'He who grieves over its possible disintegration must be considered truly great, and he who thinks of it as indestructible is not quite right. Heaven-and-earth must suffer a disintegration. There must surely be the time when it falls to pieces. And how could we be free from apprehension when it actually begins to fall?'

"When this was communicated to Liehtze, he laughed, saying, 'It is as great a mistake to assert that heaven-and-earth is falling to pieces, as to deny it. Whether it falls to pieces or not, we have no means to tell. But that is one thing, and this is another. Therefore, life does not know of death, nor does death know of life. Coming does not know of going, nor does going know of coming. To go to pieces or not to go to pieces,—this does not at all concern me.'"

Transcendentalism.

Chwangtze,⁵⁰ who appeared a little later on the stage of philosophical speculation, was the most brilliant Taoist China has ever produced. Liehtze might have been deeper in one sense than his successor, but he was not such a brilliant genius as the latter. The main philosophical problems handled by Chwangtze were those of Laotze, but in many points he extended and detailed what was merely vaguely suggested by his predecessors. He maintained with Laotze that the world started from the Nameless, but Chwangtze's Nameless is more absolute and transcendental, if we could use the expression, than that of Laotze; for Chwangtze declares that when we say there was non-existence (*wu*) before existence, this non-existence somewhat suggests the sense of relativity and conditionality, but in truth there cannot be any such existence as non-existence; and therefore it is better to say that there was in the beginning a "non-existence of non-existence" (*wu wu*), that is, not conditional non-existence, but absolute non-existence. ("The Inner," Book II.) Thus Chwangtze delighted in subtle dianoetic argument.

At the time of Chwangtze, there was such a confusing and contradicting philosophical controversy as to awaken him from the transcendental enjoyment of a self-forgetting trance. Chwangtze was convinced of the ultimate unreality of this phenomenal world, in which he did not

⁵⁰ Chwangtze was a contemporary of Mencius and must have flourished toward the end of the fourth century B. C. He was a great classic writer and his writings are considered among the best specimens of early Chinese literature. His work which we have now is divided into three parts, "Inner," "Outer," and "Miscellaneous," altogether consisting of thirty-three books. As it is said that originally it was made up of fifty-three books, twenty of them are missing now. About the genuineness of the writings, a consensus of opinion is that the first "Inner" part undoubtedly comes from his own hand, but that the remaining two parts are so interlaced with spurious passages that it is difficult to distinguish one from the other. But, generally speaking, even those spurious parts are no more than a development of Chwangtze's own thoughts. We have two English translations of the Chwangtze, one by Giles and the other by Legge in the *Sacred Books of the East*.

know whether or not he was a dream-existence of the butterfly.⁵¹ He argued that as long as things in this world are conditional and limit one another, there is no avoidance of controversy and contradiction. Each individual mind has its own idiosyncrasy. One and the same truth is reflected therein, perhaps, but each responds differently according to its inner necessity. Suppose a gale sweeps over a mountain forest. The trees resound with their various notes according to all possible differences of the cavities which may be found in them. Some sound like fretted water, some like the arrow's whiz, some like the stern command of a military officer, some like the gruff roar of a lion, and so on *ad infinitum*. ("The Inner," Bk. II.) And what need would there be to pass a judgment on these multitudinous notes and declare that some and not others are correct representations of the truth?

Chwangtze, therefore, says that no good can come out of engaging in a controversy of this nature. As long as this is a relative and conditional existence, there must be good and evil, affirmation and negation, coming and going. It is the height of foolishness to argue that as I am walking one way every man must and ought to walk the same way. Has not everybody the will and right to go his own way? As I should not be compelled by others to deny my own nature, they have the same privilege to follow their own inclinations. What is good to me is not necessarily so to others, and *vice versa*. Chwangtze thus insists in giving every one his freedom and the right to think and act as he sees fit, and thereby wishes to reach the point where all controversies are eternally settled.

⁵¹ "Formerly, I, Chuang Chou, dreamt that I was a butterfly, a butterfly flying about, feeling that it was enjoying itself. I did not know that it was Chou. Suddenly I awoke and was myself again, the veritable Chou. I did not know whether it had formerly been Chou dreaming that he was a butterfly, or whether it was now a butterfly dreaming that it was Chou. But between Chou and the butterfly there must be a difference. This is a case of what is called the transformation of things." ("The Inner," Book II.)

But how can we find out what is the real intrinsic nature of each individual existence? Chwangtze seems to think that the Tao is present in every being, and that the reason why we are in the wrong habit of confusing what is right with what is not right, is because we do not let the Tao work its own way, and, therefore, if we rid ourselves of all the subjective prejudices that we may possess and freely follow the course of the Tao, every being would enjoy his own inherent virtue, and there would be no controversies and altercations, but our life would be blessed with the transcendental bliss of the Infinite Tao. It is thus simple enough, believes Chwangtze, to find the real nature of things. Befree yourself from subjective ignorance and individual peculiarities, find the universal Tao in your own being, and you will be able to find it in others too, because the Tao cannot be one in one thing and another in another. The Tao must be the same in every existence because "I" and the "ten thousand things" grow from the selfsame source, and in this oneness of things we can bury all our opinions and contradictions. He says: "Let us make our appeal to the infiniteness [of the Tao] and take up our position there." We observe here a subjective tendency of Taoism, which distinguishes itself so characteristically from its rival doctrine, Confucianism.

In the following passage we notice a characteristic tendency of the Taoist philosophers:

"Why is the small man so restive? Why is he hampered by his medium intelligence, and why can he not attain to a larger view of things? Because he is entangled by his passions: joy, anger, grief, satisfaction, worry, despondency, unsteadiness, ardor, wildness, indulgence, suggestibility, destructiveness, and willingness; but they are all empty in their nature, they are like so many musical notes that come from the hollowness of an instrument, or like the fungi that grow from the moisture of a tree. They are

suddenly born and suddenly die, they do not abide even for a moment. Thus, they are changing day and night as I witness them, and I know not whence they are born. Is it due to a universal impulse in nature? But if there were nothing changing before me, my own existence might also cease. If I were non-existence, they too would not stand by themselves. Then it must be said that they and I are mutually conditioning that to which we owe our effectiveness.

"But what is that which makes us such as we are? I do not know. May I assume the existence of an absolute Ruler who makes things as they are? Yet I am unable to grasp his peculiarities. All that I know of him is that his working is practicable though his features are hidden. He has indications but no forms.

"Looking over my body I find a hundred bones, nine orifices, and six viscera, and I feel no partiality or specific inclination toward any of them. They are making of one another servants and maids. When these servants and maids are unable to govern one another, they finally assume the relation of master and servant. By ruling others and by being ruled by them in turn, the nourishment of the body is effected.

"Judging from this standpoint, it is reasonable to conceive of the existence of an absolute Master, yet it would not make a particle of difference to this absolute Master whether our intelligence is allowed to catch a glimpse of his signs or not. We are such as he made us."

Pantheistic Mysticism.

When speculation reaches this point, it naturally turns toward pantheistic mysticism. Intellectual discrimination and the analytical process of reasoning give way to a mystic contemplation of the Absolute. It is peculiar to the human mind that while the intellect is ever struggling

to attain to a definite conception of the universe and to state it in most positive terms, the imagination and faith, poetic and religious, insist on concretely and immediately grasping that something which is so slippery as to defy all rationalistic apprehension and yet presents itself with annoying persistence before our inner eyes. The intellect sometimes gains ascendancy, and then we have an outspoken expression of positivism. When its days are gone, as the history of thought proves everywhere, we have the predominance of mystic tendencies in philosophy. We find the mystic culmination of Taoism in Kwanyintze.

Kwanyintze, according to Ssu Ma-ch'ien's Historical Records (*Shi Chi*),⁵² seems to have been acquainted with Laotze, who was requested by him to write a book on Taoism. Kwanyintze, therefore, is earlier than Liehtze and Chwangtze, but the work ascribed to him and still in our possession is evidently a later production, though it may contain some of his own sayings scattered in the book. Strictly speaking, it may not be proper, therefore, to classify the Kwanyintze⁵³ with the Chwangtze and the Liehtze as Ante-Ch'in literature, but it contains many characteristic Taoist thoughts which can be regarded as a direct and unbroken linear development of Chwangtze and Liehtze. Hence its place here as the last of the Taoist thinkers.

That the Kwanyintze is a later production than the Chwangtze, can be seen in a comparison of their conceptions of the Tao. According to Chwangtze (Part I, Sect. VI): "This is the Tao:—there is in it Emotion and Sincerity,⁵⁴ but it does nothing and has no bodily form. It

⁵² 史記

⁵³ 關尹子 This book has not been translated, so far as I know, into any European language. It is doubtless a much later production, but contains a great deal of profound philosophical reflection worth studying by Occidental sinologists.

⁵⁴ No original text is accessible here and I am unable to ascertain the exact meaning of these words "Emotion" and "Sincerity." The translation

may be handed down [by the teacher], but may not be received [by the scholar]. It may be apprehended [by the mind], it can not be perceived [by the senses]. It has its root and ground in itself. Before there were heaven and earth, from of old it was securely existing. From it came the mysterious existence of spirits, from it came the mysterious existence of God. It produced heaven, it produced earth. It was before the T'ai Chi and yet could not be considered deep. [It was above time and space.] It was produced before heaven and earth, and yet could not be considered to have existed long. It was older than the highest authority, and yet could not be considered old."

Now, according to the Kwanyintze, the Tao is that which is above all thinkability and explicability. When this Tao is evolved, there appear heaven and earth and the ten thousand things. But the Tao in itself does not fall under the categories of freedom and necessity, of mensuration and divisibility. Therefore, it is called Heaven (*t'ien*),⁵⁵ Destiny (*ming*),⁵⁶ Spirit (*shên*),⁵⁷ or the Mysterious (*hsüen*).⁵⁸ It is each and all of these. As thus the one Tao asserts itself and manifests itself in all possible existences, there is nothing that is not the Tao. All things are the Tao itself. It is like the relation between fire and fuel. One flame of fire burns all kinds of fuel. But the fire is not independent of the fuel. When all the fuel burns out, there is no more fire left, as neither is separable from the other. So, one breath of Tao penetrates throughout the ten thousand things. They are in it and it is in them, they are it, and it is they. Find it in yourself and you know everything else, and with it the mystery of heaven and earth. (Book I.)

by Legge, whose interpretation of Chinese philosophical thought, though generally acceptable, is not always in accord with my own.

⁵⁵ 天

⁵⁶ 命

⁵⁷ 神

⁵⁸ 玄

Therefore, the essence of heaven and earth is the essence of my self; the spirit of heaven and earth is the spirit of my existence. When one drop of water is merged into the waters of a boundless ocean, there is no distinction between the two, but a complete homogeneity. Therefore, the holy man recognizes unity in multiplicity and multiplicity in unity. The multitude may change, may go through an endless series of transformation, but the one is eternally unchangeable. Shadows come and go, but the water which reflects them remains forever tranquil. The wise live in this tranquillity of the one and serenely look at the coming and going of the many. (Book V.)

As is seen here, the Kwanyintze is filled with the Mahâyâna Buddhist thoughts which held sway over the Chinese minds during the Sung dynasty, when almost all notable thinkers of the day rapped at the monastery door at one time or another. The justifiable supposition, therefore, is that the Kwanyintze might have been produced by one of the Buddhist Taoists of those days, especially when we know that the book is ostensibly declared to have then been recovered, though its existence was known during the Han dynasty (B. C. 206—A. D. 23).

I shall conclude the mention of this Taoist philosopher by quoting the following passage, in which the gist of the Taoist mode of thinking is very clearly enunciated, though there is here an unmistakable trace of the Hindu pantheistic speculation.

"It is one Essence (*ching*)⁵⁹ that becomes the cold in heaven, the water on earth, and the essence (*ching*) in man. It is one Spirit (*shên*)⁶⁰ that becomes the heat in heaven, the fire on earth, and the spirit (*shên*) in man. It is one Animal Soul (*po*)⁶¹ that becomes the drought in heaven, the metal on earth, and the animal soul (*po*) in

⁵⁹ 精⁶⁰ 神⁶¹ 魄⁶² 魂

man. It is one Soul (*hun*)⁶² that becomes the wind in heaven, the wood on earth, and the soul (*hun*) in man.

"Let my essence be merged in the essence of heaven and earth and all things, as all different waters could be combined and made into one water.

"Let my spirit be merged in the spirit of heaven and earth and all things, as all different fires could be united and made into one fire.

"Let my animal soul be merged in the animal soul of heaven and earth and all things, as all different metals could be melted and made into one metal.

"Let my soul be merged in the soul of heaven and earth and all things, as one tree could be grafted on another and made into one tree.

"It is thus that heaven and earth and all things are no more than my essence, my spirit, my animal soul, my soul. There is nothing that dies, there is nothing that is born." (Book IV.)

"To the wise there is one mind, one substance, one reason (*tao*), and these three are conceived in their oneness. Therefore, they do not repress the not-one with the one, nor do they injure the one with the not-one." (Bk. I.)

"To illustrate, such changes as cold, heat, warm and cool are like those in a brick: when it is placed in fire it is hot, when put in water it is cold; blow a breath on it, and it is warm; draw a breath from it and it is cool. Only its outward influences are coming and going, while the brick itself knows neither coming nor going. To illustrate, again: see the shadows cast in the water, they come and go, but the water itself knows no coming nor going." (Book II.)

"All things change, but their nature (*ch'i*)⁶³ is always one. The wise know this oneness of things and are never disturbed by outward signs. Our hair and nails are grow-

⁶³ 氣

ing every minute, but the multitude of people recognize the fact only when they become visible, they fail to know it through its potential signs. For this reason they think things change, and are born and die, while the wise look at them through their inner signs and know that there is no change whatever in their ultimate issuance." (Book VII.)

"To illustrate, in the great ocean, there are millions of millions of fishes large and small; but only one body of water. I and this external world with its multitudinousness are existing in the midst of Great Evolution, but their essence is one. To him who knows the oneness of essence, there are neither men, nor death, nor life, nor I. The reasoning of this world may turn the true into the untrue, and the untrue into the true; and again, it may make enemies of friends and friends of enemies. Therefore, the wise, abiding in the eternality of things, think of their changeability." (Book VII.)

DAISETZ TEITARO SUZUKI.

LA SALLE, ILLINOIS.

THE FRAGMENTS OF EMPEDOCLES.¹

ON NATURE.

To His Friend.

I.

Hear thou, Pausanias, son of wise Anchitus!

Limitations of Knowledge.

2.

For narrow through their members scattered ways
Of knowing lie. And many a vile surprise
Blunts soul and keen desire. And having viewed
Their little share of life, with briefest fates,
Like smoke they are lifted up and flit away,
Believing only what each chances on,
Hither and thither driven; yet they boast
The larger vision of the whole and all.
But thuswise never shall these things be seen,
Never be heard by men, nor seized by mind;
And thou, since hither now withdrawn apart,
Shalt learn—no more than mortal ken may span.

3.

Shelter these teachings in thine own mute breast.

4.

But turn their madness, Gods! from tongue of mine,
And drain through holy lips the well-spring clear!
And many-wooded, O white-armed Maiden-Muse,
Thee I approach: O drive and send to me
Meek Piety's well-reined chariot of song,

¹ Based on Diels's text of 1906. This translation will appear shortly in book form with notes and introduction.

So far as lawful is for men to hear,
 Whose lives are but a day. Nor shall desire
 To pluck the flowers of fame and wide report
 Among mankind impel thee on to dare
 Speech beyond holy bound and seat profane
 Upon those topmost pinnacles of Truth.
 But come, by every way of knowing see
 How each thing is revealed. Nor, having sight,
 Trust sight no more than hearing will bear out,
 Trust echoing ear but after tasting tongue;
 Nor check the proof of all thy members aught:
 Note by all ways each thing as 'tis revealed.

5.

Yea, but the base distrust the High and Strong;
 Yet know the pledges that our Muse will urge,
 When once her words be sifted through thy soul.

The Elements.

6.

And first the fourfold root of all things hear!—
 White gleaming Zeus, life-bringing Here, Dis,
 And Nestis whose tears bedew mortality.

7.

The uncreated elements.

Birth and Death.

8.

More will I tell thee too: there is no birth
 Of all things mortal, nor end in ruinous death;
 But mingling only and interchange of mixed
 There is, and birth is but its name with men.

9.

But when in man, wild beast, or bird, or bush,
 These elements commingle and arrive
 The realms of light, the thoughtless deem it "birth";
 When they dispart, 'tis "doom of death;" and though
 Not this the Law, I too assent to use.

10.

ni vl. Avenging Death.

Ex nihilo nihil.

11.

Fools! for their thoughts are briefly brooded o'er
 Who trust that what is not can e'er become,
 Or aught that is can wholly die away.

12.

From what-is-not what-is can ne'er become;
 So that what-is should e'er be all destroyed,
 No force could compass and no ear hath heard—
 For there 'twill be forever where 'tis set.

The Plenum.

13.

The All hath neither Void nor Overflow.

14.

But with the All there is no Void, so whence
 Could aught of more come nigh?

Our Elements Immortal.

15.

No wise man dreams such folly in his heart,
 That only whilst we live what men call life
 We have our being and take our good and ill,
 And ere as mortals we compacted be,
 And when as mortals we be loosed apart,
 We are as nothing.

Love and Hate, the Everlasting.

16.

For even as Love and Hate were strong of yore,
 They shall have their hereafter; nor I think
 Shall endless Age be emptied of these Twain.

The Cosmic Process.

17.

I will report a twofold truth. Now grows
 The One from Many into being, now
 Even from the One disparting come the Many.
 Twofold the birth, twofold the death of things:

For, now, the meeting of the Many brings
To birth and death; and, now, whatever grew
From out their sundering, flies apart and dies.
And this long interchange shall never end.
Whiles into One do all through Love unite;
Whiles too the same are rent through hate of Strife.
And in so far as is the One still wont
To grow from Many, and the Many, again,
Spring from primeval scattering of the One,
So far have they a birth and mortal date;
And in so far as the long interchange
Ends not, so far forever established gods
Around the circle of the world they move.
But come! but hear my words! For knowledge gained
Makes strong thy soul. For as before I spake,
Naming the utter goal of these my words,
I will report a twofold truth. Now grows
The One from Many into being, now
Even from the One disparting come the Many,—
Fire, Water, Earth and awful heights of Air;
And shut from them apart, the deadly Strife
In equipoise, and Love within their midst
In all her being in length and breadth the same.
Behold her now with mind, and sit not there
With eyes astonished, for 'tis she inborn
Abides established in the limbs of men.
Through her they cherish thoughts of love, through her
Perfect the works of concord, calling her
By name Delight or Aphrodite clear.
She speeds revolving in the elements,
But this no mortal man hath ever learned—
Hear thou the undelusive course of proof:
Behold those elements own equal strength
And equal origin; each rules its task;
And unto each its primal mode; and each
Prevailing conquers with revolving time.
And more than these there is no birth nor end;
For were they wasted ever and evermore,
They were no longer, and the great All were then
How to be plenished and from what far coast?
And how, besides, might they to ruin come,

Since nothing lives that empty is of them?—
 No, these are all, and, as they course along
 Through one another, now this, now that is born—
 And so forever down Eternity.

18.

Love.

19.

Firm-clasping Lovingness.

Love and Hate in the Organic World.

20.

The world-wide warfare of the eternal Two
 Well in the mass of human limbs is shown:
 Whiles into one do they through Love unite,
 And mortal members take the body's form,
 And life doth flower at the prime; and whiles,
 Again dissevered by the Hates perverse,
 They wander far and wide and up and down
 The surf-swept beaches and drear shores of life.
 So too with thicket, tree, and gleaming fish
 Housed in the crystal walls of waters wide;
 And so with beasts that couch on mountain slopes,
 And water-fowls that skim the long blue sea.

From the Elements is All We See.

21

But come, and to my words foresaid look well,
 If their wide witness anywhere forgot
 Aught that behooves the elemental forms:
 Behold the Sun, the warm, the bright-diffused;
 Behold the eternal Stars, forever steeped
 In liquid heat and glowing radiance; see
 Also the Rain, obscure and cold and dark,
 And how from Earth streams forth the Green and Firm.
 And all through Wrath are split to shapes diverse;
 And each through Love draws near and yearns for each.
 For from these elements hath budded all
 That was or is or evermore shall be—
 All trees, and men and women, beasts and birds,
 And fishes nourished in deep waters, aye,

The long-lived gods, in honors excellent.
 For these are all, and, as they course along
 Through one another, they take new faces all,
 By varied mingling and enduring change.

Similia similibus.

22.

For amber Sun and Earth and Heaven and Sea
 Is friendly with its every part that springs,
 Far driven and scattered, in the mortal world;
 So too those things that are most apt to mix
 Are like, and love by Aphrodite's hest.
 But hostile chiefly are those things which most
 From one another differ, both in birth,
 And in their mixing and their molded forms—
 Unwont to mingle, miserable and lone,
 After the counsels of their father, Hate.

An Analogy.

23.

And even as artists—men who know their craft
 Through wits of cunning—paint with streak and hue
 Bright temple-tablets, and will seize in hand
 The oozy poisons pied and red and gold
 (Mixing harmonious, now more, now less),
 From which they fashion forms innumerable,
 And like to all things, peopling a fresh world
 With trees, and men and women, beasts and birds,
 And fishes nourished in deep waters, aye,
 And long-lived gods in honors excellent:
 Just so (and let no guile deceive thy breast),
 Even so the spring of mortal things, leastwise
 Of all the host born visible to man.
 O guard this knowledge well, for thou hast heard
 In this my song the Goddess and her tale.

The Speculative Thinker.

24.

To join together diverse peaks of thought,
 And not complete one road that has no turn.

An Aphorism.

25.

What must be said, may well be said twice o'er.

The Law of the Elements.

26.

In turn they conquer as the cycles roll,
And wane the one to other still, and wax
The one to other in turn by olden Fate;
For these are all, and, as they course along
Through one another, they become both men
And multitudinous tribes of hairy beasts;
Whiles in fair order through Love united all,
Whiles rent asunder by the hate of Strife,
Till they, when grown into the One and All
Once more, once more go under and succumb.
And in so far as is the One still wont
To grow from Many, and the Many, again,
Spring from primeval scattering of the One,
So far have they a birth and mortal date.
And in so far as this long interchange
Ends not, so far forever established gods
Around the circle of the world they move.

The Sphere.

27.

There views one not the swift limbs of the Sun,
Nor there the strength of shaggy Earth, nor Sea;
But in the strong recess of Harmony,
Established firm abides the rounded Sphere,
Exultant in surrounding solitude.

27a.

Nor faction nor fight unseemly in its limbs.

28.

The Sphere on every side the boundless same,
Exultant in surrounding solitude.

29.

For from its back there swing no branching arms,
It hath no feet nor knees alert, nor form

Of life-producing member,—on all sides
A sphere it was, and like unto itself.

30.

Yet after mighty Strife had waxen great,
Within the members of the Sphere, and rose
To her own honors, as the times arrived
Which unto each in turn, to Strife, to Love,
Should come by amplest oath and old decree...

31.

For one by one did quake the limbs of God.

Physical Analogies.

32.

The joint binds two.

33.

But as when rennet of the fig-tree juice
Curdles the white milk, and will bind it fast...

34.

Cementing meal with water...

The Conquest of Love.

35.

But hurrying back, I now will make return
To paths of festal song, laid down before,
Draining each flowing thought from flowing thought.
When down the Vortex to the last abyss
Had foundered Hate, and Lovingness had reached
The eddying center of the Mass, behold
Around her into Oneness gathered all.
Yet not a-sudden, but only as willingly
Each from its several region joined with each;
And from their mingling thence are poured abroad
The multitudinous tribes of mortal things.
Yet much unmixed among the mixed remained,
As much as Hate still held in scales aloft.
For not all blameless did Hate yield and stand
Out yonder on the circle's utmost bounds;
But partwise yet within he stayed, partwise
Was he already from the members gone.

And ever the more he skulked away and fled,
Then ever the more, and nearer, inward pressed
The gentle minded, the divine Desire
Of blameless Lovingness. Thence grew apace
Those mortal Things, erstwhile long wont to be
Immortal, and the erstwhile pure and sheer
Were mixed, exchanging highways of new life,
And from their mingling thence are poured abroad
The multitudinous tribes of mortal things,
Knit in all forms and wonderful to see.

36.

And as they came together, Hate began
To take his stand far on the outer verge.

Similia similibus.

37.

And Earth through Earth her figure magnifies,
And Air through Air.

The World as It Now Is.

38.

Come! I will name the like-primeval Four,
Whence rose to sight all things we now behold—
Earth, many-billowed Sea, and the moist Air,
And Aether, the Titan, who binds the globe about.

Earth and Air Not Illimitable.

39.

If Earth's black deeps were endless, and o'er-full
Were the white Ether, as forsooth some tongues
Have idly prated in the babbling mouths
Of those who little of the All have seen...

Sun and Moon.

40.

Keen-darting Helios and Selene mild.

41.

But the sun's fires, together gathered, move
Attendant round the mighty space of heaven.

42.

And the sun's beams
The moon, in passing under, covers o'er,
And darkens a bleak tract of earth as large
As is the breadth of her, the silver-eyed.

43.

As sunbeam striking on the moon's broad disk.

44.

Toward Olympos back he darts his beams,
With fearless face.

45.

Round earth revolves a disk of alien light.

46.

Even as revolves a chariot's nave, which round
The outmost...

47.

For toward the sacred circle of her lord
She gazes face to face.

48.

But earth makes night for beams of sinking sun.

The Darkling Night.

49.

Of night, the lonely, with her sightless eyes.

Wind and Rain.

50.

Iris from sea brings wind or mighty rain.

Fire.

51.

And fire sprang upward with a rending speed.

The Volcano.

52.

And many a fire there burns beneath the ground.

Air.

53.

For sometimes so upon its course it met,
And oftentimes otherwise.

Things Passing Strange.

54.

In Earth sank Ether with deep-stretching roots.

55.

Earth's sweat, the sea.

56.

The salt grew solid, smit by beams of sun.

Strange Creatures of Olden Times.

57.

There budded many a head without a neck,
And arms were roaming, shoulderless and bare,
And eyes that wanted foreheads drifted by.

58.

In isolation wandered every limb,
Hither and thither seeking union meet.

59.

But now as God with God was mingled more,
These members fell together where they met,
And many a birth besides was then begot
In a long line of ever varied life.

60.

Creatures of countless hands and trailing feet.

61.

Many were born with twofold brow and breast,
Some with the face of man on bovine stock,
Some with man's form beneath a bovine head,
Mixed shapes of being with shadowed secret parts,
Sometimes like men, and sometimes woman-growths.

62.

But come! now hear how 'twas the sundered Fire
Led into life the germs, erst whelmed in night,

Of men and women, the pitied and bewailed;
 For 'tis a tale that sees and knows its mark.
 First rose mere lumps of earth with rude impress,
 That had their shares of Water and of Warm.
 These then by Fire (in upward zeal to reach
 Its kindred Fire in heaven) were shot aloft,
 Albeit not yet had they revealed a form
 Of lovely limbs, nor yet a human cry,
 Nor secret member, common to the male.

The Process of Human Generation To-day.

63.

But separate is the birth of human limbs;
 For 'tis in part in man's...

64.

Love-longing comes, reminding him who sees.

65.

Into clean wombs the seeds are poured, and when
 Therein they meet with Cold, the birth is girls;
 And boys, when contrariwise they meet with Warm.

66.

Into the cloven meads of Aphrodite.

67.

For bellies with the warmer wombs become
 Mothers of boys, and therefore men are dark,
 More stalwart and more shaggy.

68.

On the tenth day, in month the eighth, the blood
 Becomes white pus.

69.

Twice bearing.

70.

Sheepskin.

On Animals and Plants.

71.

And if belief lack pith, and thou still doubt
 How from the mingling of the elements,

The Earth and Water, the Ether and the Sun,
So many forms and hues of mortal things
Could thus have being, as have come to be,
Each framed and knit by Aphrodite's power...

72.

As the tall trees and fish in briny floods.

73.

As Kypriis, after watering Earth with Rain,
Zealous to heat her, then did give Earth o'er
To speed of Fire that then she might grow firm.

74.

Leading the songless shoals of spawning fish.

75.

Of beasts, inside compact with outsides loose,
Which, in the palms of Aphrodite shaped,
Got this their sponginess.

76.

'Tis thus with conchs upon the heavy chines
Of ocean-dwellers, aye, of shell-fish wreathed,
Or stony-hided turtles, where thou mark'st
The earthen crust outside the softer parts.

77-78.

Trees bore perennial fruit, perennial fronds,
Laden with fruit the whole revolving year,
Since fed forever by a fruitful air.

79.

Thus first tall olives lay their yellow eggs.

80.

Wherefore pomegranates slow in ripening be,
And apples grow so plentiful in juice.

81.

Wine is but water fermented in the wood,
And issues from the rind.

82.

From the same stuff on sturdy limbs grow hair,
Leaves, scales of fish, and birds' thick-feathered plumes.

83.

Stiff hairs, keen-piercing, bristle on the chines
Of hedge-hogs.

Our Eyes.

84.

As when a man, about to sally forth,
Prepares a light and kindles him a blaze
Of flaming fire against the wintry night,
In horny lantern shielding from all winds;
Though it protect from breath of blowing winds,
Its beam darts outward, as more fine and thin,
And with untiring rays lights up the sky:
Just so the Fire primeval once lay hid
In the round pupil of the eye, enclosed
In films and gauzy veils, which through and through
Were pierced with pores divinely fashioned,
And thus kept off the watery deeps around,
Whilst Fire burst outward, as more fine and thin.

85.

The gentle flame of eye did chance to get
Only a little of the earthen part.

86.

From which by Aphrodite, the divine,
The untiring eyes were formed.

87.

Thus Aphrodite wrought with bolts of love.

88.

One vision of two eyes is born.

Similia similibus.

89.

Knowing that all things have their emanations.

90.

Thus Sweet seized Sweet, Bitter on Bitter flew,
Sour sprung for Sour, and upon Hot rode Hot.

91.

Water to wine more nearly is allied,
But will not mix with oil.

92.

As when one mixes with the copper tin.

93.

With flax is mixed the silvery elder's seed.

The Black River Bottoms.

94.

And the black color of the river's deeps
Comes all from shade; and one may see the same
In hollow caves.

Eyes.

95.

As, in the palms of Kypris shaped, they first
Began to grow together...

Bones.

96.

Kind Earth for her broad-breasted melting-pots,
Of the eight parts got two of Lucid Nestis,
And of Hephæstos four. Thence came white bones,
Divinely joined by glue of Harmony.

97.

The back-bone.

Blood and Flesh.

98.

And after Earth within the perfect ports
Of Aphrodite anchored lay, she met
Almost in equal parts Hephæstos red,
And Rain and Ether, the all-splendorous
(Though one or other were a little more,
Perchance, a little less, than Earth). From these
There came our blood and all the shapes of flesh.

The Ear.

99.

A bell... a fleshy twig.

The Rushing Blood and the Clepsydra.

100.

And thus does all breathe in and out. In all,
Over the body's surface, bloodless tubes
Of flesh are stretched, and, at their outlets, rifts
Innumerable along the outmost rind
Are bored; and so the blood remains within;
For air, however, is cut a passage free.
And when from here the thin blood backward streams,
The air comes rushing in with roaring swell;
But when again it forward leaps, the air
In turn breathes out; as when a little girl
Plays with a water-clock of gleaming bronze:
As long as ever the opening of the pipe
Is by her pretty fingers stopped and closed,
And thuswise plunged within the yielding mass
Of silvery water, can the Wet no more
Get in the vessel; but the air's own weight,
That falls inside against the countless holes,
Keeps it in check, until the child at last
Uncovers and sets free the thickened air,
When of a truth the water's destined bulk
Gets in, as air gives way. Even so it is,
When in the belly of the brazen clock
The water lies, and the girl's finger tip
Shuts pipe and tube: the air, that from without
Comes pressing inward, holds the water back
About the gateways of the gurgling neck,
As the child keeps possession of the top,
Until her hand will loosen, when amain—
Quite contrariwise to way and wise before—
Pours out and under the water's destined bulk,
As air drops down and in. Even so it is
With the thin blood that through our members drives:
When hurrying back it streams to inward, then
Amain a flow of air comes rushing on;
But when again it forward leaps, the air
In turn breathes out along the selfsame way.

Scent.

101.

Sniffing with nostrils mites from wild beasts' limbs...
Left by their feet along the tender grass...

102.

And thus got all things share of breath and smells.

On the Psychic Life.

103.

Thus all things think their thought by will of Chance.

104.

And in so far the lightest at their fall
Do strike together...

105.

In the blood-streams, back-leaping unto it,
The heart is nourished, where prevails the power
That men call thought; for lo the blood that stirs
About the heart is man's controlling thought.

106.

For unto men their thrift of reason grows,
According to the body's thrift and state.

107.

For as of these commingled all things are,
Even so through these men think, rejoice, or grieve.

108.

As far as mortals change by day, so far
By night their thinking changes...

109.

For 'tis through Earth that Earth we do behold,
Through Ether, divine Ether luminous,
Through Water, Water, through Fire, devouring Fire,
And Love through Love, and Hate through doleful
Hate.

110.

For if reliant on a spirit firm,
With inclination and endeavor pure,

Thou wilt behold them, all these things shall be
 Forever thine, for service, and besides
 Thereof full many another shalt thou gain;
 For of themselves into that core they grow
 Of each man's nature, where his essence lies.
 But if for others thou wilt look and reach—
 Such empty treasures, myriad and vile,
 As men be after, which forevermore
 Blunt soul and keen desire—O then shall these
 Most swiftly leave thee as the seasons roll;
 For all their yearning is a quick return
 Unto their own primeval stock. For know:
 All things have fixed intent and share of thought.

Dominion.

III.

And thou shalt master every drug that e'er
 Was made defense 'gainst sickness and old age—
 For thee alone all this I will fulfil—
 And thou shalt calm the might of tireless winds,
 That burst on earth and ruin seedlands; aye,
 And if thou wilt, shalt thou arouse the blasts,
 And watch them take their vengeance, wild and shrill,
 For that before thou cowedst them. Thou shalt change
 Black rain to drought, at seasons good for men,
 And the long drought of summer shalt thou change
 To torrents, nourishing the mountain trees,
 As down they stream from ether. And thou shalt
 From Hades beckon the might of perished men.

THE PURIFICATIONS.

The Healer and Prophet.

II2.

Ye friends, who in the mighty city dwell
 Along the yellow Acragas hard by
 The Acropolis, ye stewards of good works,
 The stranger's refuge venerable and kind,
 All hail, O friends! But unto ye I walk
 As god immortal now, no more as man,
 On all sides honored fittingly and well,

Crowned both with fillets and with flowering wreaths.
 When with my throngs of men and women I come
 To thriving cities, I am sought by prayers,
 And thousands follow me that they may ask
 The path to weal and vantage, craving some
 For oracles, whilst others seek to hear
 A healing word 'gainst many a foul disease
 That all too long hath pierced with grievous pains.

113.

Yet why urge more, as if forsooth I wrought
 Some big affair—do I not far excel
 The mortals round me, doomed to many deaths!

114.

O friends, I know indeed in these the words
 Which I will speak that very truth abides;
 But greatly troublous unto men alway
 Hath been the emulous struggle of Belief
 To reach their bosoms.

Expiation and Metempsychosis.

115.

There is a word of Fate, an old decree
 And everlasting of the gods, made fast
 With amplest oaths, that whosoe'er of those
 Far spirits, with their lot of age-long life,
 Do foul their limbs with slaughter in offense,
 Or swear forsworn, as failing of their pledge,
 Shall wander thrice ten thousand weary years
 Far from the Blessed, and be born through time
 In various shapes of mortal kind, which change
 Ever and ever paths of troublous life:
 For now Air hunts them onward to the Sea;
 Now the wild Sea disgorges them on Land;
 Now Earth will spue toward beams of radiant Sun;
 Whence he will toss them back to whirling Air—
 Each gets from other what they all abhor.
 And in that brood I too am numbered now,
 A fugitive and vagabond from heaven,
 As one obedient unto raving Strife.

116.

Charis abhors intolerable Fate.

117.

For I was once already boy and girl,
Thicket and bird, and mute fish in the waves.

This Earth of Ours.

118.

I wept and wailed, beholding the strange place.

119.

From what large honor and what height of bliss
Am I here fallen to move with mortal kind!

This Sky-Roofed World.

120.

And then we came unto a roofèd cave.

This Vale of Tears.

121.

A joyless land,
Where Slaughter and Grudge, and troops of Dooms
besides,
Where shriveled Diseases and obscene Decays,
And Labors, burdened with the water-jars,
Do wander down the dismal meads of Bane.

122.

There was Earth-mother,
There the far-peering Virgin of the Sun,
And bloody Quarrel and grave-eyed Harmony,
And there was Fair and Foul and Speed and Late,
Black-haired Confusion and sweet maiden Sure.

123.

Growth and Decay, and Sleep and Roused-from-sleep,
Action and Rest, and Glory many-crowned,
And Filth, and Silence and prevailing Voice.

124.

O mortal kind! O ye poor sons of grief!
From such contentions and such sighings sprung!

The Changing Forms.

125.

For from the living he the dead did make,
Their forms exchanging...

126.

All things doth Nature change, enwrapping souls
In unfamiliar tunics of the flesh.

127.

The worthiest dwellings for the souls of men,
When 'tis their lot to live in forms of brutes,
Are tawny lions, those great beasts that sleep
Couched on the black earth up the mountain side;
But, when in forms of beautiful plumed trees
They live, the bays are worthiest for souls.

The Golden Age.

128.

Nor unto them

Was any Ares god, nor Kydoimos,
Nor Zeus, the king of gods, nor Kronos, nor
Poseidon then, but only Kypris queen...
Whom they with holy gifts were wont to appease,
With painted images of living things,
With costly unguents of rich fragrancly,
With gentle sacrifice of taintless myrrh,
With redolent fumes of frankincense, of old
Pouring libations out upon the ground
Of yellow honey; not then with unmixed blood
Of many bulls was ever an altar stained;
But among men 'twas sacrilege most vile
To reave of life and eat the goodly limbs.

The Sage.

129.

Was one among them there, a supreme man
Of vastest knowledge, gainer of large wealth
Of understanding, and chief master wise
Of diverse works of skill and wisdom all;
For whensoever he sought with scope and reach

Of understanding, then 'twas his to view
Readily each and every thing that e'er
In ten or twenty human ages throve.

Those days.

130.

All things were tame, and gentle toward men,
All beasts and birds, and friendship's flame blew fair.

The Divine.

131.

For since, O Muse undying, thou couldst deign
To give for these our paltry human cares
A gateway to thy soul, O now much more,
Kalliope of the beautiful dear voice,
Be near me now beseeching!—whilst I speak
Excelling thoughts about the blessed gods.

132.

O well with him who hath secured his wealth
Of thoughts divine, O wretched he whose care
Is shadowy speculation on the gods!

133.

We may not bring It near us with our eyes,
We may not grasp It with our human hands,
With neither hands nor eyes, those highways twain
Whereby Belief drops into minds of men.

134.

For 'tis adorned with never a manlike head,
For from Its back there swing no branching arms,
It hath no feet nor knees alert, nor form
Of tufted secret member; but It lives,
One holy mind, ineffable, alone,
And with swift thoughts darts through the universe.

135.

But the wide law of all extends throughout
Broad-ruling ether and the vast white sky.

Animal Sacrifice.

136.

Will ye not cease from this great din of slaughter?
 Will ye not see, unthinking as ye are,
 How ye rend one another unbeknown?

137.

The father lifteth for the stroke of death
 His own dear son within a changèd form,
 And slits his throat for sacrifice with prayers—
 A blinded fool! But the poor victims press,
 Imploring their destroyers. Yet not one
 But still is deaf to piteous moan and wail.
 Each slits the throat and in his halls prepares
 A horrible repast. Thus too the son
 Seizes the father, children the mother seize,
 And reave of life and eat their own dear flesh.

138.

Drawing the soul as water with the bronze.

139.

Ah woe is me! that never a pitiless day
 Destroyed me long ago, ere yet my lips
 Did meditate this feeding's monstrous crime!

Taboos.

140.

Withhold your hands from leaves of Phœbus' tree!

141.

Ye wretched, O ye altogether wretched,
 Withhold your hands from beans!

Sin.

142.

Neither roofed halls of ægis-holding Zeus
 Delight it, nor dire Hecate's venging house.

143.

Scooping from fountains five with lasting bronze.

144.

O fast from evil-doing.

145.

Since wildered by your evil-doings huge,
Ne'er shall ye free your life from heavy pains.

The Progression of Rebirth.

146.

And seers at last, and singers of high hymns,
Physicians sage, and chiefs o'er earth-born men
Shall they become, whence germinate the gods,
The excellent in honors.

147.

At hearth and feast companioned with the immortals,
From human pains and wasting eld immune.

Last Echoes of a Song Half Lost.

148.

Man-enfolding Earth.

149.

The cloud-collecting.

150.

The blood-full liver.

151.

Life-giving.

152.

Evening, the day's old age.

153.

The belly.

153a.

In seven times seven days.

WILLIAM ELLERY LEONARD.

MADISON, WIS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE DYNAMICS OF LIVING MATTER. By *Jacques Loeb*. New York: Macmillan, 1906. Pp. 233. Price, \$3.00 net.

In the year 1902 Professor Loeb was called to Columbia University to deliver a series of eight lectures on the dynamics of living matter, and this series now lies before us in book form as Vol. VIII of the Columbia University Biological Series. Professor Loeb says:

"In these lectures we shall consider living organisms as chemical machines, consisting essentially of colloidal material, which possess the peculiarities of automatically developing, preserving, and reproducing themselves. The fact that the machines which can be created by man do not possess the power of automatic development, self-preservation, and reproduction constitutes for the present a fundamental difference between living machines and artificial machines. We must, however, admit that nothing contradicts the possibility that the artificial production of living matter may one day be accomplished. It is the purpose of these lectures to state to what extent we are able to control the phenomena of development, self-preservation, and reproduction."

Professor Loeb incorporates or at least alludes to his prior work which has brought him prominently before the public, and he discusses the dynamics of life in the following chapters: Concerning the General Chemistry of Life Phenomena, The General Physical Constitution of Living Matter, On Some Physical Manifestations of Life, The Rôle of Electrolytes in the Formation and Preservation of Living Matter, The Effects of Heat and Radiant Energy Upon Living Matter, Heliotropism, Further Facts Concerning Tropisms and Related Phenomena, Fertilization, Heredity, On the Dynamics of Regenerative Processes.

Professor Loeb excludes from the present volume those actions of animals which are executed consciously because he discusses them in a special book, but he refers to the purely psychic phenomena in these words:

"I consider consciousness the function of a definite machine or mechanism, which we may call the mechanism of associative memory. Whatever the nature of this machine may be it has one essential feature in common with the phonograph, namely, that it reproduces impressions in the same chronological order as that in which they were received. The mechanism of associative memory seems to be located—in vertebrates—in the cerebral hemispheres. It follows from the experiments of Goltz that one of the two hemispheres is sufficient for all the phenomena of memory and consciousness.

As far as the chemical or physical mechanism of memory is concerned, we have at present only a few vague data. H. Meyer and Overton have pointed out that substances which are easily soluble in fat are also, for the most part, strong anæsthetics, e. g., ether, chloroform, etc., and that the ganglionic cells are especially rich in lipoids. It is possible that the mechanism of associative memory depends in part upon the properties and activities of the fatty constituents of the cerebral hemispheres. Another fact which may be of importance is the observation of Speck that if the partial pressure of oxygen in the air is lowered to below one third of its normal value, the fundament of mental activity, namely, memory, is almost instantly interfered with, and total loss of consciousness rapidly follows."

HARVARD ORIENTAL SERIES. Vols. VII-VIII.—ATHARVA-VEDA SAMHITA.

Translated with a Critical and Exegetical Commentary by *William Dwight Whitney*. Revised and brought nearer to completion and edited by *Charles Rockwell Lanman*.

Vol. IX. THE LITTLE CLAY CART. Attributed to *King Shudraka* and translated into English prose and verse by *Arthur William Ryder*. Cambridge: Harvard University 1905.

The Atharva-Veda is one of the most ancient and venerable collections of Brahman lore that has come down to us. It contains incantations, hymns, exorcisms for all possible purposes, and thus forms an important landmark in the development of religion. An elegant birch bark manuscript has been found in Kashmir, which is now in possession of the University of Tübingen, and was edited as an edition de luxe several years ago by the Professors Richard Garbe and Maurice Bloomfield. A translation into German was made some time ago by Professor Weber in *Indische Studien*, Vol. IV, 1858, pp. 393 to 430. The present translation, the first one into English, is the work of the late Whitney, which has been edited and in some unfinished portions brought to completion by Professor Lanman. Professor Roth was the first to understand the significance of this ancient work, and he inspired his disciple Whitney to undertake a translation which he had almost completed, when death prevented him from giving the finishing touches to it. So the work of bringing it before the public was left to Professor Whitney's disciple and friend, Charles R. Lanman, and it could not have been put in better hands. He has not only faithfully attended to the labor of making the manuscript ready for publication, but has revised and added and brought up to date those parts of the material which had been left incomplete, and work has been done with reverence and love for the master at whose feet he had sat. A Sanskrit poem at the end of the preface bears testimony to the spirit which animated Lanman. Thus this stupendous work becomes a monument not only to ancient religion but also to true scholarship, and the editor gives expression to his feelings in the following words and verses:

"Had Whitney lived to see this work in print and to write the preface, his chief tribute of grateful acknowledgement would doubtless have been to his illustrious preceptor and colleague and friend whose toil had so largely increased its value, to Rudolph Roth of Tübingen. Whitney, who was my teacher, and Roth, who was my teacher's teacher and my own teacher, both are passed away, and Death has given the work to me to finish, or rather to

bring nearer to an ideal and so unattainable completeness. They are beyond the reach of human thanks, of praise or blame: but I cannot help feeling that even in their life-time they understood that science is concerned only with results, not with personalities, or (in Hindu phrase) that the goddess of learning, Sarasvati or Vac, cares not to ask even so much as the names of her votaries; and that the unending progress of science is indeed like the endless flow of a river.

"Teacher and teacher's teacher long had wrought
Upon these tomes of ancient Hindu lore, .
Till Death did give to one whom both had taught
The task to finish, when they were no more.

.....
"The Gita's lesson had our Whitney learned—
To do for duty, not for duty's meed.
And, paid or unpaid be the thanks he earned,
The thanks he recked not, recked alone the deed.

"Here stands his book, a mighty instrument,
Which those to come may use for large emprise.
Use it, O scholar, ere thy day be spent.
The learner dieth, Learning never dies."

The Atharva-Veda itself consists of prayers which are intended as incantations to overcome all kinds of evils that threaten man's destiny. From the rich collection we will select one to serve us as an example. In book III, page 30, we read a prayer for concord, which, omitting all commentaries' notes and explanations of the text, reads as follows:

"Like-heartedness, like-mindedness, non-hostility do I make for you; do ye show affection the one toward the other, as the inviolable [cow] toward her calf when born.

"Be the son submissive to the father, like-minded with the mother; let the wife to the husband speak words full of honey, wealful.

"Let not brother hate brother, nor sister, sister; becoming accordant, of like courses, speak ye words auspiciously.

"Having superiors, intentful, be ye not divided, accomplishing together, moving on with joint labor; come hither speaking what is agreeable one to another; I make you united, like-minded.

"Your drinking be the same, in common your share of food; in the same harness do I join you together; worship ye Agni united, like spokes about a nave.

"United, like-minded I make you, of one bunch, all of you, by conciliation; like the gods defending immortality; late and early be well-willing yours."

The first volume (viz., Vol. VII, of the *Harvard Oriental Series*) contains as a frontispiece a fine medallion portrait of Professor Whitney while the second volume (Volume VIII of the *Harvard Oriental Series*) contains a facsimile of a page of the Kashmirian Codex.

Besides the editor's preface the reader is furnished with a brief sketch of Professor Whitney's life and a list of his works.

The critical notes leave nothing to be desired and there is no question that the Sanskrit scholar will find the edition most serviceable for all purposes.

Volume IX of the *Harvard Oriental Series* contains the interesting translation of a Hindu drama by Arthur W. Rider, entitled "The Little Clay Cart," and consisting of ten acts. Professor Lanman calls attention in an editor's note to the importance of Eastern civilization and our necessity of familiarizing ourselves with it. He points out how Japan has been benefited by having studied Western civilization, whereby she has grown not only in intellectual capacity but also in practical achievements both in peace and in war. Professor Lanman says:

"The fruitfulness of those scions of Western civilization which the Japanese have grafted upon their own stock is to-day the admiration of the world. In our wonder, let us not forget that that stock is the growth of centuries, and that it is rooted in a soil of racial character informed by ethical ideals which we are wont to regard, with arrogant self-complacency, as exclusively proper to Christianity, but which were, in fact, inculcated twenty-four centuries ago through precept and example by Gotama the Enlightened, or, as the Hindus call him, Gotama the Buddha. It has often been said that India has never influenced the development of humanity as a whole. Be that as it may, it now seems no less probable than strange that she is yet destined to do so, on the one hand, indirectly, through the influence of Indian Buddhism upon Japan, and, on the other, directly, by the diffusion in the West of a knowledge of her sacred writings, especially those of Vedantism and Buddhism. To judge the East aright, we must know not only what she is, but also how she has become what she is; know, in short, some of the principal phases of her spiritual history as they are reflected in her ancient literature, especially that of India. To interpret to the West the thought of the East, to bring her best and noblest achievements to bear upon our life,—that is to-day the problem of Oriental philology."

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY. By *Lester F. Ward*. Boston: Ginn, 1906. Pp. xviii, 384. Price, \$3.00 net.

Mr. Ward claims that this "treatise on the conscious improvement of society by society," constitutes with its predecessor *Pure Sociology*, a system of sociology, while those together with his earlier sociological works compose a consistent and comprehensive system of social philosophy. The main implication of the entire system is "a true science of society, capable in the measure that it approaches completeness, of being turned to the profit of mankind.... It aims to point out a remedy for the general paralysis that is creeping over the world, and which a too narrow conception of the law of cosmic evolution serves rather to increase than to diminish. It proclaims the efficacy of effort provided it is guided by intelligence."

This particular portion of Mr. Ward's system of sociology is divided into three parts. The first part, "Movement," begins with a definitive chapter on the relation of pure to applied sociology followed by one on "The Efficacy of Effort," which proves the fallacy of the *laissez faire* school. Then the author treats of the "End or Purpose of Sociology," "Social Achievement,"

historic "World Views" and their interpretation, "Truth and Error," including anthropomorphic views, and the "Social Appropriation of Truth."

The second part on "Achievement" is devoted chiefly to a discussion of "Opportunity" and its logic, treating especially of different kinds of environment and their influence.

The third part, "Improvement," after a chapter on the "Reconciliation of Achievement with Improvement," enters in more detail into the methods and problems of applied sociology.

Appended to this work is a valuable bibliographical list of authors and titles of works, articles, and memoirs quoted or cited in the book with critical and explanatory notes, and references to the pages where the citations are made. A careful and thorough index completes the work.

THE SUBCONSCIOUS. By *Joseph Jastrow*. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1906. Pp. 549. Price, \$2.50 net.

The author, professor of psychology at the University of Wisconsin, explains the purpose of his book in the preface as follows:

"The purpose of this essay in descriptive psychology is to provide a survey of a comprehensive aspect of human psychic endowment. The very definition of psychology as the science of consciousness has tended to focus attention upon conditions of high introspective lucidity, and, by implication, to look upon areas upon which such illumination is withdrawn, as quite too obscurely lighted for profitable examination. Thus casually visited, and with no vital share in the psychologist's concerns, the abode of the subconscious has drifted into the service of a lumber-room, in which to deposit what finds no place in the mind's active economies. Not mainly as a corrective to unwarranted misconception,—though quite willing that the work should be thus serviceable,—but as a statement of its natural import, its comprehensive scope in the familiar fields of normal life and in the perplexing mazes of the abnormal, I have undertaken a systematic exposition of subconscious functioning."

The book has apparently grown out of a course of lectures; but it might be more serviceable to the psychologist if the contents had been condensed to about one-half or even less than one-half its present size. Moreover the author enters perhaps too little into the explanation of the functions of the nervous system, and also the mechanism of consciousness.

In addition to these subjects Professor Jastrow discusses in the first part, volition, attention and the rôle which the subconscious plays in mental procedure.

The second part is devoted to the abnormal as in dream consciousness and its variants, dissociated consciousness, and the genesis of altered personality as well as disintegrating lapses of personality.

The third or theoretical part discusses the nature of the subconscious and the subconscious as abnormal.

ESSAY ON THE CREATIVE IMAGINATION. By *Th. Ribot*. Translated from the French by *Albert H. N. Baron*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1906. Pp. 359. Price, \$1.75 net. (7s. 6d. net.)

The *Essay on Creative Imagination* by the well-known psychologist Th.

Ribot is the first attempt that has been made to give any adequate scientific treatment to this branch of psychology. Although the purely reproductive imagination has been studied with considerable enthusiasm, the creative or constructive variety has been generally neglected, and is popularly supposed to be confined to esthetic creation.

The author shows that imagination is not the possession only of the inspired few, but is a function of mind common to all men in some degree, and that mankind has displayed as much imagination in practical life as in its more emotional phases—in mechanical, military, industrial and commercial inventions, in religious, social and political institutions as well as in sculpture, painting, poetry and song.

After an introduction on "The Motor Nature of the Constructive Imagination" the book is divided into three parts. The first is an analysis of the imagination and discusses in turn the intellectual, emotional and unconscious factors, the organic conditions of the imagination and the principle of unity. The second part treats of the development of the imagination in animals, the child, primitive man and the various higher forms of invention. The third part deals with the principal types of imagination, first dividing them into two general classes, the plastic and diffuent, and then specifying the mystic, scientific, practical, commercial, and utopian types. Appendices provide further observations and documents in evidence. The book is provided with a very full analytical table of contents and a comprehensive index.

Webster's International Dictionary in its recently enlarged edition proves itself equal to cope successfully with the danger of becoming a "back number" to which all works of reference are liable. The disadvantage of worn type is obviated by new plates into which also many corrections and improvements are introduced including thousands of new words which represent the new expressions that have come into literary and scientific use, and old ones which have changed in meaning or have been revived. Of the comprehensive series of abridgments each member of which bears the stamp of authority of the whole system, the largest and most important is *Webster's Collegiate Dictionary*. This contains most of the essentials of the larger work including complete definitions and full and scholarly etymologies. Its appendix contains many valuable tables and treatises including a dictionary of mythological characters and a Scottish Glossary which indicates the correct pronunciation of the words and claims to be the most complete and reliable dictionary of Scottish words and phrases accessible. But the publishers have recently issued this same work also on the thin paper used for the publication of Bibles which reduces the bulk to one-half the size, and is sold at practically the same price (limp covers, cloth, \$3.50, seal, \$5.00). In this form the unwieldy reference book of the library dictionary-stand is reduced to a handy volume for the private desk or traveling-bag with all the major points of value of the large work retained, and at the same time possessing the additional merit of that charm which appeals to both the eye and hand and makes a book a personal friend rather than only an indispensable and reliable servant.

